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**THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-1.**

HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF

CHARLES I. TO THE RESTORATION;

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

TRACING THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY, AND OF THE CONSTITUTION, FROM
THE FEUDAL TIMES TO THE OPENING OF THE HISTORY;

AND INCLUDING A

PARTICULAR EXAMINATION OF MR. HUME'S STATEMENTS

RELATIVE TO THE

CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

36749

BY GEORGE BRODIE, ESQ.

ADVOCATE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

CHAP. X.

state of the respective *etc.*—*Battle of Naseby.*—*Capture of the King's letters found in the King's Cabin.*—*Flight of the King to Oxford.*—*Transactions of Montrose, and his*—*Transactions of Glamorgan.*—*Flight of Charles to the Scottish Army before.*—*Termination of the War.*—*Fruitless Negotiations.*—*The King delivered up by the Scots.*

THE parliamentary armies having been, by the order of parliament, ordered to be reduced to a small number of soldiers that had been under Essex, and eight troops, commanded by Colonel Dalby, for some time at such a suspicious distance, that it was expected they would join the king, the soldier-like, masterly address of

* *Russell* p. 18. If ever any letter was, as Hollis asserted, written to the committee of Hertfordshire, to fall upon the king, it probably regarded those, which were alone suspected, to say what was to be done under such circumstances, was a time to talk of the ordinary process of law, when their conduct evinced a disposition to

Skippon, with the high estimation in which he was held by the whole military, soon brought the great body to order, and Dalbier also joined them*. All laxity of discipline was now discarded, and throughout the whole ranks was kindled an enthusiasm for the cause as it involved civil and religious rights. Fairfax having sent down to join them, determined to wait some time in inactivity. Cromwell had come to the sor, with the avowed purpose of taking leave of the general, on laying down his command, according to the self-denying ordinance. He was refused permission to leave the army, and was obliged to remain with them. He was then sent to the self-denying ordinance from parliament, which obliged him to march on a party of the new model army, which was nothing but ruin from the experience; and Charles himself indulged in the "remarks on the parliament's general †."

In the west, the king had possession of the greater part of the country. All Cornwall was in his power; and, in Devonshire, Plymouth and Taunton were garrisoned by the parliament. Taunton, the only town of that county, was the only walled town in that quarter. Here by the parliament, was closely besieged Sir Richard Grenville, and in great expectation of the conduct of Blake having also been sent. In Dorset, the parliament still

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 16, *et seq.* † Ib. p. 23-4.

Maillie's Let. vol. i. p. 91. 95. 98. 103. 104. 105.

Whitelocke, 1. 140.

Lime, and Weymouth; but the king, also, had possession of other places. In Wilts, Hants, Oxford, and Bucks, the places of strength were chiefly in possession of the king. In the midland counties, as Hereford, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Chester, Leicester, Lincoln, and Nottingham, the majority of the forts were also occupied by him. Warwick and Northampton were chiefly garrisoned by the parliament forces; but the whole of Wales, with the exception of a few towns and castles, in South Wales, and every castle, in North Wales, were in the king's possession. Beyond the Trent were some places; but the country beyond was devoted to the parliament.

At the commencement of the campaign, Fairfax himself marched to the relief of Taunton; but Goring's army became formidable in the midland counties, the committee of both kingdoms ordered the general to send a detachment only to the relief of that place, and himself besiege Oxford to watch the royal motions. He therefore detached between 4000 and 5000 men to Taunton, having deceived the enemy by his counsels, so that the besiegers imagined his march was directed against them, he proceeded towards Oxford. But Goring, having been sent by the king with 3000 to join with Grenville, Popeton, and Berkeley, their united forces being about 10,000, to renew the siege of Taunton, cooped up in the town the forces sent by

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 18, *et seq.*

Fairfax to its relief, and recommenced the siege with vigour. By occupying the situation about Oxford, Fairfax was in a posture to intercept the king if he attempted to march to the south or south-west, while the Scottish army, nominally 21,000, yet scarcely 16,000, was ordered to march south, and be joined with all the forces in Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, besides 2500 horse and dragoons, under Colonel Vermuden, who was ordered to march to join them, as they were to be. But this promising state of affairs was disappointed by the conduct of the Scottish army, who, being disgraced at the new model, and having lost all small confidence in a military leader, were left one old soldier alone, Skippon, remained in the Westmoreland, and thus changed the course of the campaign. At the outset, the new army met with some slight repulses, which increased the presumption of their enemies, as they dispelled the melancholy forebodings of false prophets who declared "the huge imprudence" of the engagement to be now fully exemplified. Charles was taken by storm Leicester, which his troops plundered and sacked with every species of inhumanity; and the state of the parliamentary affairs was now to become critical. Their forces were ordered to concentrate, and Cromwell was, at the press desire of Fairfax, nominated lieutenant-general of the horse. Having left Oxford, the parliamentary general closely followed the king, who beat up his quarters, determined, if po

bring his majesty to an immediate engagement. Charles, who was taken by surprise, and saw that his army would be exposed if he attempted to retreat, resolved to offer the engagement, which could not safely be avoided. Both armies, now in the neighbourhood of Naseby, immediately formed their plans for battle. Skippon drew that for Fairfax, and Cromwell joined him late in the evening. The active disposition of the new general would not allow him to rest on such an important occasion, and himself rode about during the night reconnoitring, when an odd accident occurred. Absorbed in deep reflection, he passed the lines, and, as he was unknown to the centinel, he was, on his return, threatened with being shot through the head, when the captain of the guard having been called, recognised his person*.

The following was the arrangement on the royal side: The centre was commanded by the king in person, the right wing, consisting of cavalry, by the Princes Rupert and Maurice; the left, also of cavalry, by Sir Marmaduke Lonsdale. The right hand reserve was commanded by the Earl of Lindsay, and Sir Jacob, now created Lord, Ashley; the left by the Earl of Litchfield and Sir George Lisle. The parliament's army stood thus: The main body was commanded by Fairfax and Skippon; the right wing, consisting of six regiments of horse, was led by Cromwell; the left wing, composed of five regiments of horse, and a division of 200 horse of

Battle of
Naseby,
14th June,
1645.

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 27, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 141, *et seq.* Clar. vol. iv. p. 652, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 196. 116.

the Association, to secure the left flank, was, at the particular request of Cromwell, committed to Colonel Ireton, who, for that purpose, was made commissary-general of horse. The reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The two armies were about equal in number, and the scene of action was a large fallow field, about a mile broad, at the distance of a mile from Naseby. The field was wholly occupied with the respective armies. Fairfax had taken up his position on the brow of a small hill, having sent down a forlorn hope of 800, who were instructed to retreat when hard pressed. On the right wing of the king's army, Rupert charged most furiously; and, though Ireton received him with great spirit, the prince ultimately bore down that wing, a circumstance which was imputed by the adverse party to a disorder occasioned by pits and ditches which had not been observed. Ireton's own horse was killed under him, while a spear was run through his leg, and another into his face; and, in this condition, he fell into the hands of the enemy, from whom he only escaped during their subsequent rout. Rupert pushed on till he came to the baggage, which he commanded to surrender; but the forces stationed to guard it, being well prepared, returned the summons with a brisk fire, and kept him engaged till the royal forces were thrown into confusion in other parts of the field. In the right wing of the parliamentary forces, Cromwell, after a desperate resistance by the royal troops, which conducted themselves to admiration, com-

pletely routed that wing ; but, instead of following the course pursued by Rupert, he sent a small part of his force to prevent the enemy from forming, and wheeled back to the charge of the main body. In the centre, success appeared at first to incline to the king's side, the parliamentary troops having been obliged to retreat upon the reserve, but rallying, they made another most desperate charge, and threw the king's foot into confusion, with the exception of one Tertia, which stood two attacks immovable as a rock ; when Fairfax having commanded Captain D'Oiley, of his lifeguard, to attack them in rear, while himself charged them in front, that they might meet in the middle, broke them, and with his own hand he killed the ensign who carried the royal colours. A trooper of D'Oiley's having seized them, boasted that himself performed this meritorious act ; but, when D'Oiley reprimanded him for arrogating the credit of the general's exploit, Fairfax cried out, " let him take that honour, I have enough beside." Rupert had now returned, but he could not prevail on his troops to make a second charge, and a body of cavalry alone still remained undefeated. Fairfax delayed the attack upon it till he could direct against it the flower of his foot as well as horse, and when the adverse party saw such mighty odds brought against them, they fled from the field in spite of the magnanimous efforts of the king, who cried out " one charge more and we recover the day." His conduct this day, which, in spite of fortune, was in reality the

most glorious of his life, was indeed worthy of a prince, and was generously admired by his enemies. The victory was complete; 600 of the royal forces were killed, and 4500 taken prisoners, amongst whom was an immense number of officers; 8000 stands of arms, with all the artillery, bag and baggage, and the king's coach, with his private cabinet, fell into the hands of the victors.

The utmost renown was this day gained by Fairfax and Cromwell, and likewise by Skippon. Fairfax had lost his helmet in the heat of the engagement; and D'Oiley, regretting to see so valuable a life exposed in every part of the field where the battle raged most, offered him his own helmet; but the general, saying, "it is well enough Charles," declined it, and without this usual protection to his person, performed the gallant feat above commemorated. Skippon, who was now far advanced in life, received a dangerous wound in the side at the beginning of the engagement; and Fairfax, perceiving his condition, advised him to withdraw; but the gallant veteran swore he would not stir so long as a man remained, and continued at his post till the end of the battle*.

Charles retreated into Wales, having happily escaped Sir John Gell, who was rapidly marching up to join the parliamentary army, with 2000 horse, and arrived on the day after the battle. A messenger was, on the following day, inter-

King re-
treats to
Wales.

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 41, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 150, *et seq.* Clar. vol. iv. p. 649, *et seq.* Append. to Evelyn's Mem. p. 92, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 151, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 116, 117.

cepted by the parliament from Goring, who said, that he expected to finish the siege of Taunton within a certain time, when he would be in a condition to join his majesty; and it has been thought, that had the intelligence reached the king before the battle, he would have declined an engagement. But as he could not have done this without loss in the meantime, so such information would probably have only tended to ensure his destruction; for Goring was himself deceived by his own sanguine hopes in regard to the siege, and Gell, with his 2000 horse, besides others, would have augmented the parliamentary army*.

The correspondence found in the royal cabinet, completely proved the perfidious assertions of the king in regard to his negotiations with foreign powers for supplies of troops, in spite of the most solemn appeals to heaven, that he never had in-

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 49. Clar. vol. iv. p. 659. On every disaster, party-men set their wits to work to prove that the battle should not have been fought, or ought to have been gained, and that the course pursued after it was ruinous—though, in reality, no other could have been prudently followed, and none could have been successful. Such is the conduct of Clarendon on this and other occasions. Laing says that Charles should have abandoned all garrisons, and collected the troops, and that, had he done so, he might have still kept the field; for that the parliament could not have occupied the garrisons without dropping active operations. But the garrisons did not all lie in one quarter; and by delaying his retreat for the accomplishment of this object, the king would have exposed his shattered army to inevitable destruction,—while the forces from the garrisons would have been beaten in detail before they could concentrate. Besides, new levies by the parliament could easily have manned the garrisons thus abandoned, and the country, no longer awed by them, would have risen. Then the Scots were marching south. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 118.

tended it. They also fully establish the insincerity with which he had entered into treaty with the parliament, and expose some of his intentions relative to Ireland. In a letter, on the 4th August of this year, to Sir Edward Nicholas, he says,—“ Though I could have wished that paines had beene spaired, yet I will neither deny that those things are myne wch they haue sett out in my name, (only some words heere and there mistaken, and some com'as misplaced, but not much materiall,) nor as a good Protestant, or honest man, blush for any of those papers; indeed as a discreet man, I will not justify my selfe; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his priuat letters were publiquely seene, as myne have now beene; howsoumever, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortunes: it is concerning the mungrill parliament; the trewth is, that Sussex * factiousness at that time put me somewhat out of patience, wch made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my wyfe, and the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that by their raising and fomenting of base propositions †.” This quotation has been introduced, as it sufficiently disproves the statement by the apologists of Charles, that the parliament were guilty of unfairness in the publication, in

* Lord Savile, lately created Earl of Sussex.

† Append. to Evelyn's Mem. p. 101, 2. Clar. vol. iv. p. 658.

order to give a false colour to the king's proceedings. The copy of the notes abstracted at the trial of Strafforde, was also found with a writing in the king's hand, that he got it from Digby*.

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 156. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 134, 145. Mr. Hume severely censures the parliament for publishing these letters, and, without informing us that he was indebted for the allusion to the Key to the King's Cabinet Opened, which was published soon after the publication of the letters, refers to the conduct of the Athenians, when they intercepted a letter from Philip to Olympias, who, says he, "so far from being moved by a curiosity of prying into the secrets of that relation, immediately sent the letter to the queen unopened. *Philip was not their sovereign*; nor were they inflamed with that violent animosity against him, which attends all civil commotions." Now, the conduct of the Athenians was certainly no rule for the English. Assuredly if that polite people conceived that the letter related to domestic affairs, they were bound by every principle of honour to transmit it unopened. But who will venture to say, that, had the safety of the state been, on probable grounds, supposed to depend on that letter, they ought not to have opened it? Suppose that at the time this country was threatened with invasion from France, Napoleon's letters to his wife had fallen into the hands of our government, and that, from previous circumstances, there was reason to suppose that they related to that very intended invasion—would any minister have been justified in sacrificing the public safety to a punctilio? But *Napoleon was not our native sovereign any more than Philip was that of Athens*. And mark the difference: Charles and his consort were engaged in a conspiracy against the laws of their country, —laws which they were by every tie bound to protect; and unless it can be maintained that any treason, or other wickedness, between man and wife, ought, from their relation, to pass without scrutiny, the argument of Mr. Hume, if argument it can be called, must be regarded as worthy only of that period of life, when every thing connected with the ancients, is received with admiration. The same remark applies to his observations about the queen's late departure for the continent.

Hume alleges that "they chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought could reflect dishonour upon him. Yet upon the whole, the letters are written with delicacy and tenderness, and give an advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals." Really it is deplor-

In retreating to Wales, Charles appears to have been actuated by sound views. Had he gone to the west, Cromwell and Fairfax would have pursued him without a moment's intermission; and as all his forces, united with those of Goring, could not have coped with the parliamentary army, while the Scottish troops were at last rapidly marching south, his hopes, resting entirely on his present strength, would soon have been terminated; while in Wales, which he imagined devoted to him, he expected to raise another army, and waited the arrival of ten thousand Irish, that he was promised, as well as foreign troops, and could more easily form a junction with Montrose, on whose great success he so confidently relied. But the Welsh, dreading that their assistance to him, at this juncture, would draw the whole parliamentary army into the country, became extremely lukewarm in his cause, while the utter overthrow of Montrose in Scotland blasted all his prospects from that quarter, and the magnificent promises of the Duke of Lorrain, and the Irish, proved equally fallacious.

able to meet all this: For can letters which betray perfidy, and rancorous hostility to the laws he had so solemnly engaged to defend, deserve such a character? As for the composition, it is as vulgar as the principles are detestable. But the author who could discover poetic beauty in the bombast of Montrose, was not likely to miss excellence in the royal letters. The only point Charles regretted, was that about the mongrel parliament, and he sends some ciphers to Evelyn, which, he alleges, were the copy of a letter sent to the queen, explanatory of the other, according to what he stated in the letter given in the text. But that letter does not mend the matter, and the ciphers are unintelligible.

A fresh dispensation having been granted to Cromwell, he continued in the army. Under the old system of the parliamentary army, the loss at Naseby might have been recovered, since, under pretext of refreshing the troops, which the Presbyterian party now declared to be absolutely necessary, time to recover from the surprise, and to raise fresh forces would have been allowed. But Fairfax and Cromwell were not the men to give a day's respite; and the success at Naseby was followed up without intermission by fresh actions. Fairfax having sent a party of 3000 under Pointz and Rositer to attend the king's motions and prevent him rallying, marched instantly to Leicester. The governor refused to surrender; and he determined to take it by storm. But when his purpose was perceived, and the cannon began to play, the place was surrendered on terms. Having secured this town, where he found 14 pieces of brass ordnance, 30 colours, 2000 stand of arms, 50 barrels of powder, and other ammunition, he determined immediately to march to the relief of Taunton. On his way thither he was met by large parties of clubmen—country-men, who, not strongly attached to either party, but mainly actuated by a desire of protecting their own property, had been much instigated by the king's emissaries. The parliamentary general, who knew well that, though this body of men might easily be dispersed in his present condition, yet that on any disaster they might knock his soldiers on the head, endeavoured to con-

Proceedings
of Fairfax
after the
battle of
Naseby.

ciliate them, and at all events to temporize, by yielding to some of their demands, while he denied others, and thus escaped their fury*.

Goring having received intelligence of Fairfax's approach, raised the siege of Taunton, which was thus relieved a second time, and retreated towards Langport and Long-Sutton, where the king had several forts. The ground occupied by him was extremely favourable for defence, and with the king's garrisons an attack upon him became hazardous. Knowing his situation, he had sent a party back to Taunton, in hopes to take the town by surprise; but the party having been met by Massey, was routed with considerable loss. Having therefore occupied the passes on the river Parrot, Goring marched to Bridgewater, but Fairfax out-manceuvred him, and at Langport gave him a signal defeat. To stop the pursuit of the victors, Goring's forces fired Langport; but the adversaries forced their way through flaming houses, killed 300, took 1400 prisoners, amongst whom were several officers of distinction, and 1200 horses, many of which had been deserted by their riders: 300 standards graced the conquest, which was gained with the loss of less than 100 men. On that very day Fairfax marched towards Bridgewater, having taken up his quarters within two miles of the town: there they met with another party of clubmen; but after some expostulation they parted on good terms. Bridge-

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 50, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 152.

water, situated in a valley so level as not to afford a clod which might give an advantage in assailing it, was strongly as well as regularly fortified. The moat, which was in almost every part filled each tide to the brim, was about thirty feet wide, and proportionally deep: The lines occupied a small compass of ground, and were manned with eighteen hundred troops: a large supply of provisions and ammunition, &c. promised to enable them to stand a long siege. The parliamentary army was, therefore, in a dilemma. If it left this town, the consequences might be serious; if it sat down before it, and were to any degree unsuccessful, the king might have leisure to collect a fresh force. Some proposed to attempt it by regular approaches; but the time was too precious for that, and a fall of rain might in an instant dash all their schemes. The extent of the ground, though relatively small, rendered it impracticable to block it up with a detachment of the army. It was, therefore at last determined on to attempt the capture by storm, and Lieut.-General Hammond, having devised a light moveable species of bridge from thirty to forty feet long, was ordered to give directions to construct eight immediately for the enterprise. On Monday, the 21st of July, at two o'clock in the morning, the storming began; feints were made in several parts at once, and while the garrison was distracted with the variety of attacks, the bridges were suddenly thrown across the moat; the soldiers then quickly passed, and having, in spite of opposition, beat the enemy from the guns,

turned them against the town. Having thus reached the upper town, they quickly let down the draw-bridge, and passed into the lower, where the cavalry, now admitted, scoured the streets. Six hundred of the enemy were taken; but those that escaped, having fled to the upper town, from which the parliamentary troops had passed, drew up the bridge, and showered down grenadoes and hot slug, that set the division they had left in flames, from which only two or three houses were rescued. While that quarter was in one conflagration, Major Cowel stood with his guard in the street to prevent a sally. The garrison in the second town still held out, and it was at first resolved to carry it by storm; but the assailants so far altered their plan, as to content themselves with a feint to keep the troops in constant alarm. A message was then sent by Fairfax to the governor, informing him that he compassionated the innocent, who must suffer on the occasion, and that he would allow the women to leave the town by a certain hour; but the governor's lady, laying her hand on her breast, which she said gave suck to prince Charles, desired the messenger to tell the general they would hold out to the last; yet when the hot slugs fired the houses, this lady, with the rest of her sex, gladly accepted of the proffered kindness; and, as the townsmen felt amazed, the governor surrendered on terms. A thousand officers and soldiers, besides gentlemen and clergy, marched out prisoners, while forty-four barrels of powder, as many pieces of ordnance, four hundred weight of match,

and fifteen hundred stand of arms, fell into the hands of the victors. Goods too, of great value, which had been deposited here for security, were seized by the commissioners of the parliament, and sold; from the price of which three shillings were allowed to every soldier for his services in storming the place.

The capture of this town was of immense consequence; for, as the distance between it and Lime, a town in the possession of the parliament, was only about twenty miles, a line of garrisons connected them; and all communication with Devon and Cornwall, the counties most devoted to the royal cause, and the rest of the kingdom, was cut off. It was debated by the victors whether they should pursue Goring or take in Bath. The council generally recommended the first; but Fairfax, however disposed to follow their advice, latterly resolved upon the last, as the capture of that place might straiten Bristol, and consequently facilitate his operations upon that most important garrison. Before his approach, however, Bath was reduced by Col. Rich, under whom, in the affair, a party of dragoons performed a remarkable exploit. Having been drawn up near the bridge, they, quitting their horses, crept on their bellies towards the gate, and having seized on the small ends of the muskets presented against their party through the loop holes of the gate, called out to the guard to take quarter. The astonished guard instantly fled, leaving their muskets behind them, and thus gave possession of the bridge to the assailants, who

forced the gate, and were ready to enter, when the town was surrendered on terms. A hundred and forty prisoners, six pieces of ordnance, &c. were taken on the occasion. Rupert had advanced with 1500 to the relief of that town, but finding that he was too late, he retreated.

Fairfax, having received intelligence of the capture of Bath, directed himself to Sherborn; but as the clubmen rose in great numbers in Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset, Cromwell was dispatched against them. The majority he persuaded to return peaceably to their own dwellings; but as a part fired upon a detachment of horse, and killed some which he sent, under a lieutenant, to inquire into the cause of their warlike proceedings, he found it necessary to attack them, and about 200 were wounded. These persons being taken prisoners, were, after an examination regarding their instigators, dismissed on their promise not to engage in similar adventures. Their standard had a motto which, though conceived in a sorry jingle, would have justly moved the compassion of every generous mind, had it really depicted the feelings with which they resorted to arms.

“ If you offer to plunder our cattle,
Be assured we will give you battle.”

Having dispersed these clubmen, Cromwell joined Fairfax at Sherborn, and the place was quickly reduced. Four hundred prisoners were taken there, amongst whom were several of quality; and

the soldiers, in the confusion attending the capture, could not be prevented from plunder, which they disposed of to the country people on the following market day.

After this Fairfax resolved to reduce Bristol; but the capture of that town was expected by him to be a matter of uncommon difficulty, while the adverse party flattered themselves that it would weary out the assailants in fruitless efforts, till new forces were elsewhere levied. The garrison was large and well provided; but if we may judge from the accounts transmitted, the fortifications were not calculated for a very vigorous defence. It is probable however that, had such an individual as Blake commanded the place, it might have held out longer; but the impetuosity of Rupert was not accompanied with that inexhaustible resolution which qualifies a man for bearing up against a continued disastrous contest. The situation of Charles elsewhere, too, was at this time to all appearance so desperate, that it seemed better, if possible, to save the garrison, in order that it might take the field. Massey had shut up Goring in the west; and the Scots, who had advanced to Gloucester, intercepted the king's approach to Bristol. Such was the posture of affairs, when the town was surrendered; but the Scots unexpectedly retreated, and then the place might, if it could have been preserved, have afforded a refuge to the king's harassed troops. This, however, which afforded the basis of the outcry against Rupert, by his own

Bristol surrendered by
Rupert,
Sept. 10.
1645.

party, could not have been foreseen ; and before he did yield, the lines were forced, a party of his troops cut off from the garrison, and the town fired in several places. But in a declining cause, every act is condemned by its partisans, and it was the fate of Rupert, who, with all his faults, was the best officer Charles had, to incur the personal resentment, on many accounts, of the very individual whom the king desired to record the events of his reign.

After the fall of Bristol, the garrisons in the west which intercepted the communication with London, were beset. Rainsborough was dispatched against Berkley-castle, the only considerable place left for the king in Gloucestershire, and which was already blocked up, while Cromwell was sent against the Devises. The Devises was a place of great strength. The castle, raised on a huge mount of earth, had lately been fortified by the order of the governor, Sir Charles Loyd, accounted a good engineer, with several new works cut out of the main earth, so strong that no cannon could pierce them, and so situated as to command each other, while most of the approaches were so palisaded and stoccadoed, as seemingly to obstruct a storming. But Cromwell was not to be daunted. Before attempting the place, however, he summoned the governor to surrender, and intimated that, if he were otherwise resolved, his wife and the other females were at liberty to pass from the town. The answer was "win and wear it;" but when all was prepared for a storm, the governor surrendered

on terms. Layock-house, on the same day, yielded to Colonel Pickering, and Berkley-castle to Rainsborough. Winchester, in a few days afterwards, likewise surrendered to Cromwell, and the castle of Winton, garrisoned with no less than 700 men. Basing-house, which had been strongly fortified by the Marquis of Winchester, had hitherto withstood every siege, and either beat off the assailants, or wearied them out with loss : uplifted by his success, the marquis had declared that he, if the king had no more ground than Basing-house, would hold it out to the last extremity—whence it had been designated by the cavaliers loyalty-house. But Cromwell having resolved, at whatever cost, to storm it, carried it without either great difficulty or loss.

In the mean time Fairfax was himself actively employed. Warminster and Axminster surrendered to him. Tiverton-castle was taken by assault, and here occurred a remarkable instance of the just punishment of treachery. There happened to be in the garrison, one major Sadler, who had formerly deserted the parliament's service for the king's. But conceiving, on the investment of this place, that he might purchase his indemnity by treachery to the party he had latterly joined, he proposed to betray the castle. His propositions were, however, rejected, and himself with about 200 more, seized on the capture of the place. Condemned by court-martial to be shot for his desertion, he effected an escape, and fled to Exeter, then in the possession of the royalists, as to a

place of refuge. But his late practices having been detected by that party, he was condemned there likewise, and paid the mulct of his offences.

Exeter was a town of importance, and to reduce it the parliamentary general now proposed to raise forts on its east side, to cut off resources from that quarter, while with his army, for a similar purpose, he sat down on the other. But winter had begun, and the inclemency of the season, with want of accommodation, engendered sickness in the troops, which wasted them away, particularly the infantry; and the prince, who was in the west, having, in conjunction with Hopton, and Sir Richard Grenville, drawn off the troops with which they then besieged Plymouth, and collected what they could from garrisons, as well as raised many recruits, brought into the field from eight to nine thousand horse and foot, which they quartered about Tavistocke, Okehampton, and the neighbourhood, with a view to force Fairfax to rise from the east side of Exeter. But, informed of their design, he suddenly sent a party against them, which beat up their quarters at Bavy-Tracy, and obliged them to retire with considerable loss. After this, he took Dartmouth by storm, and having disarmed the garrison, amounting to from 800 to 1000, he ordered them to return to their several dwellings. Poldram-castle also fell into his hands; and at Torrington, he defeated Hopton, who retired with his shattered forces into Cornwall. Resolved to allow the enemy no time to rally and recruit, Fairfax pursued him with continual alarm to a nook of

that county, and a fortunate discovery having inflamed the population there against the royal measures, upwards of a thousand volunteered to block up the passes, in order to prevent Hopton from breaking through with his cavalry. The royalist general thus completely shut up, entered into a treaty, which was soon completed, for disbanding his army, and surrendering the horses and arms to the parliament. The discovery alluded to regarded the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan in Ireland. A vessel from Waterford had arrived at Padstow, as at a friendly port; but it was suddenly boarded, and the men put to the sword, while the letters, which the captain had thrown into the sea, were fortunately rescued from the waves, and developed the schemes in agitation. Fairfax then assembled the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and shewed them the letters, which produced the happy result recorded above*.

The royal cause had not been more successful elsewhere. Having recruited his shattered army, Charles himself left Wales about the end of July, and, in the beginning of August, advanced to Litchfield, with a view, as was supposed, to raise the siege of Hereford, which was at that time warmly carried on by the Scots. But the Earl of Leven, having sent out a strong party of horse under David Leslie, to watch the royal motions, obliged him to change his route. Upon this, he drew out a considerable reinforcement from Newark, and

Hopton's
army dis-
solved.

The pro-
ceedings of
Charles
himself and
his small
army.

* Rush. vol. xiv. chap. iii. for an account of the Military Transactions of Fairfax's army. Clar. vol. iv. p. 669—70. 678. 730.

manifested an intention to proceed north, in order to join with Montrose, who was then triumphant in Scotland, and with his usual boasting language, promised to assist his master with 20,000 *, though he never could command even a third of that number. Pointz and Rossiter, however, with a large party of horse, intercepted his majesty's passage, and he broke into the eastern association, where he took Huntingdon, and alarmed Cambridge, while he enriched his troops with booty. The Scots now, in discontent at not receiving their pay from the parliament, and bereft of their cavalry, with which Leslie returned to Scotland to punish Montrose, raised the siege of Hereford, and marched north. Charles, therefore, visited Hereford, and expected to relieve Bristol from the siege by Fairfax. But for this his force would have been insufficient, and Rupert, who never could have anticipated the strange countermarch of the Scots, which alone enabled the king to approach that quarter, had already surrendered the town. In the meantime, Pointz had stationed himself between the royal army and Oxford; and Charles, having learnt that Chester, which was well situated for the landing of his expected succours from Ireland, was almost reduced by a party of the parliamentary troops, hastened to its relief with about 5000 horse and foot. But Pointz encountered him on Routen-heath, within two miles of Chester, and defeated him with great loss. At first, success so

* King Charles' Works, p. 154.

inclined to the royal side that the parliamentary troops were routed ; but Colonel Jones and Adjutant Lothian having drawn out 500 foot, and 300 horse, from the leaguer before Chester, at this instant charged the king's troops, and thus gave Pointz's men an opportunity to rally. Then commenced a furious assault by Pointz, in front, while Jones assailed the royal forces in rear ; and the king's army was utterly discomfited with the loss of five or six hundred slain, amongst whom was the Earl of Litchfield, and of 1000 common prisoners, besides many officers of quality. With difficulty Charles again led his broken force to Wales ; where, having refreshed and recruited his little army, he, with about 3000 fighting men came, on the 2d of October, to Litchfield, the next day to Meldrum, and the 4th to Newark, where he continued till the beginning of November, having quartered his horse at Belvoir, Worton, Welbeck, and Sleaford. But Pointz having taken Shelford-manor, the seat of the Earl of Chesterfield, by storm, and put the garrison, consisting of about 200, to the sword; the unhappy monarch apprehending that he might be besieged in Newark, marched away during the night with a party of horse to Daintry, where the Earl of Northampton met him with a larger body, and conducted him by Banbury to Oxford, where he continued during the remainder of the year. The Scots, in the meantime, having been induced by the parliament to alter their resolution to proceed homeward, sat down before Newark, while the parliamentary forces under Colonel

Morgan were attended with great success in Wales *.

During the short period Charles remained at Newark, he dispatched Lord Digby, accompanied by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with 1200 horse to join Montrose, who complained much of want of cavalry. Three hundred gentlemen joined this detachment, and at first it was attended with success, having at Doncaster defeated a regiment of horse, and taken about 1000 foot prisoners. But their prosperity was short-lived. Colonel Copley came up to them at Sherborn, in Yorkshire, with about 1800 horse, and routed them completely, having not only recovered the prisoners, but taken 300 of Digby's force, with his own coach, where were found several letters and papers of vast consequence in developing the royal designs, and which were therefore published by the parliament for the information of the people. They were to this effect. 1st, Several letters from Goff, an agent in Holland, to Jermyn, now created a Lord, and to Digby himself, regarding a negociation then on foot for a marriage between the Prince of Wales, and the Prince of Orange's daughter, in order to induce the states to espouse the king's interest. 2d. Letters from Jemyn, then at Paris, to Digby, relative to the treaty for bringing over the Duke of Lorraine's army, also concerning expected aid from Denmark, and the Prince of Courland; and about an application by Sir Kenelm Digby, to the pope,

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 116, *et seq.* Clar. vol. iv. p. 677, *et seq.* 712, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 167, *et seq.*

for assistance from his holiness. *3d.* Regarding a treaty of an Irishman, Colonel Fitzwilliams, with the queen, for sending over ten thousand men from Ireland *.

After their defeat at Sherborn, Digby and Langdale endeavoured to raise a party in Lancashire to join them ; but the parliamentary forces obliged them to change their route, while David Leslie interposed between them and Scotland. With difficulty therefore, they reached Carlisle sands, where the governor of the town, Sir John Brown, having encountered them with an inferior force, broke through and routed their little army, when the two commanders, perceiving the impracticability of forming a junction with Montrose, fled to the Isle of Man. Their troops, abandoned by their leaders, dispersed in all directions, and many of them fell into their enemy's hands †.

Losses, on the royal side, accumulated. Sir William Vaughan was defeated at Denbigh : Hereford, which had withstood all the Scotch army, was taken by Colonel Morgan, with only about 2000 men : the object having been effected by a stratagem, as creditable to the ability of the commander, as the execution of it was to the bravery of the troops. Bieston-castle was also captured, and Chester, which had been in the possession of

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 128, *et seq.* Clar. vol. iv. p. 715, *et seq.* Digby's Cabinet. Sir Kenelm Digby must have been the fittest person to negociate with the Pope, as his father, Sir Everald, was one of the chief conspirators in the gunpowder plot.

† Rush, vol. vi. p. 133-4.

the royalists from the beginning of the war, and was equally fortified by art and nature, while it was no less advantageously situated for landing troops from Ireland, than for preserving a communication with Wales, was at last reduced; and the defeat of Lord Ashley on the 22d of March following, may be said to have given the finishing blow to the war. Ashley commanded the only force which Charles had now in the field. It consisted of 3000, chiefly cavalry, and it was imagined that, joined to the forces at Oxford, it might enable him to keep his ground till the arrival of the Irish auxiliaries in the spring. Ashley, therefore, proceeded from Worcester to Oxford, and the king sent out 1500 to meet him, that, with their combined strength, they might beat off the assaults of the enemy; but the passes were so blocked up, that the two bodies were prevented from communication, and that from Oxford was not even aware of the motions of the other, till the news arrived of its total overthrow. Encountered with an equal force under Morgan, Brereton and Birch, Ashley's little army was utterly defeated: himself and all the chief officers were taken prisoners. Under this misfortune, that lord justly remarked to some of Brereton's officers: "You have now done your work, and may go to play, unless you fall out amongst yourselves *."

Actions of
Montrose.

We shall now relate the transactions of Montrose. As his army increased, and his exploits

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 134, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 134, *et seq.* Clar. vol. iv. p. 753.

became terrible, Argyle brought back his little army of 1500 from Ireland, and the parliament which, on the expiration of the three years from the former, superseded the convention of estates, recalled Lieut. General Baillie from England to take command of the troops newly raised against the enemy at home. This officer, who had been bred under Gustavus Adolphus, had acquired the character of a good commander. After the taking of Newcastle, he returned to Scotland about his private business; and as he, on the settlement of his affairs, was proceeding back to the army, he was recalled by an express, which reached him when he was within twelve miles of Newcastle; but inadequate were the preparations, and these ill-directed. Baillie himself informs us, that part of the force on foot being employed elsewhere, he never, till the battle of Kilsyth, commanded 2000 foot, nor above 500 horse at one time*. It was his misfortune, too, to be hampered in all his motions, both by the committee of estates, particularly through the influence of Argyle, whose enmity he incurred, and

* Laing says that General Baillie returned with six regiments; and the idea does receive some countenance from the Rev. Mr. Baillie's letters, as he indeed speaks of eight regiments having been recalled, though not under Baillie. But when we view the general's own account, and collate it with other authorities, particularly with the acts of the Scottish parliament, we discover the mistake. I presume that the reverend gentleman had been misled, in consequence of regiments which had been wasted by sickness, desertion, and loss, at York, Newcastle and other places, having been sent home as ineffective: and indeed this may be gathered from other letters, all referred to here. Baillie's Let. vol. ii. p. 94. 95. 98. 104. 135. 141. Wishart's Life of Montrose, chap. ix. Scots Acts, lately published, vol. vi. p. 190, *et seq.* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 275-87.

by the appointment of Colonel Hurry as Lieutenant-General—an individual who had now deserted the king as he had formerly done the English parliament, and yet, as a Scot, was unaccountably employed by his countrymen against Montrose. Baillie and he having crossed the Tay, arrived critically to save Dundee, which was stormed by Montrose in three several places at once; and one of the forts having been taken, the guns were turned against the town, and the suburbs fired in several quarters. Having been apprized of the approach of the enemy, Montrose immediately summoned back his men, who were not easily recalled from drink and plunder. General Baillie charges Hurry with treachery, for not having used his advantage in routing the whole army of Montrose at this juncture, stating that he was informed Hurry was “desired by some to take heed lest any thing might be achieved where he (Baillie) was present, whereby he might have honour.” Montrose, though not without considerable loss, effected his retreat, and Baillie and Hurry divided their forces to pursue him separately, when, as might have been anticipated, they were beaten in detail.

Baillie went to Athol to revenge the conduct of the inhabitants of that district, and is alleged to have ravaged the territory with the inhumanity which he ought to have punished. Hurry, with 1200 foot, and 160 horse, went north to prevent Montrose's retreat to the hills; and, on his return from Inverness, he obtained a considerable reinforcement from the garrison, besides being joined

by the Earls of Sutherland and Seaforth. Montrose also reinforced, now followed him, that he might rout that division before it was joined by Baillie; and Hurry, anxious to signalize himself by the overthrow of the enemy during Baillie's absence, gave the advantage which was sought. Instead of waiting the arrival of his superior, he hastened to attack Montrose, who took up his ground in a valley at a village called Auldearn, in the neighbourhood of Nairne. No post could have been better chosen. The valley, with which Hurry was unacquainted, enabled him at once to mislead his adversary, to render the attack on some quarters of his own troops almost impracticable, and yet to pour down upon the enemy with the best effect. His ordnance, guarded by a few choice foot, and defended by steep banks and ditches, was placed in the centre; his right wing, commanded by his lieutenant, Alaster M'Donald of Coll-Kettoch, who brought over the Irish, consisted only of 400 foot, and a small party of cavalry; but then it was unassailable by means of the ground, while it was so obscured that its strength could not be estimated by Hurry; to deceive whom Montrose placed his own standard there, as in the principal part of his army. The flower of his force was placed on the left. Misled by this judicious arrangement, Hurry attacks the right wing, and, as M'Donald at last rashly left his entrenchment to meet an enemy which could not reach him, he ultimately overthrew that body; but then he had been already long exposed to the ordnance, in fruitless attempts

to pass the deep ditches and steep banks, and Montrose, taking advantage of the chief strength of his adversary being so misdirected, pours down upon the rest of his army almost his whole concentrated force. The result was the overthrow of Hurry, attended, according to some accounts, with the loss of nearly 2000 men, though he still boasted of a victory. What aggravated the loss was, that a portion of the veterans from Ireland was destroyed.

On the approach of Baillie, Montrose again retreated to the mountains. The force under the first was about 2000 foot and 100 horse; but a great part of the infantry was after taken from him to guard the low country, leaving him only 1300 : 200 horse, including Hurry's, joined him, and, with this trifling army was he, reproached at the same time for not pursuing effectual measures to terminate the war, sent into the wilds of the Highlands, in pursuit of an enemy much more than double his strength, and well supplied by the natives with provisions. After some painful marches, in which his men were nearly famished, he returned without meeting the object of his pursuit. His experienced soldiers were now taken from him, to be put under the command of Argyle, while raw levies supplied their place; and with from 1200 to 1300 foot, and 260 horse, he was appointed to guard the low country from the invasion of Montrose: but scarcely had the arrangement been formed, when he was commanded to find out the enemy. The result was such as might have been expected. Montrose attacks him at Alford on the

Dee, with an equal number of horse, and more than double the number of foot, and obtained a complete victory. An opportunity, however, of recovering the loss, in the defeat of the adversary, was afterwards let slip, through the misconduct of Hurry.

After this new forces were raised by the parliament, and Baillie was nominated to the command; but it was unfortunate that a few great aristocrats, without talent for military affairs, still governed all; and vexed by finding himself cramped in every movement by the interposition of the committee of estates, who, though unacquainted with war, would, instead of issuing out general directions, and leaving the detail to the judgment of the commander, direct in every thing, he had resolved to refuse the appointment: Yet, destitute of firmness of character, he at last allowed himself to be persuaded to accept of it, contenting himself with the poor part of remonstrating against injudicious interference. In the meantime, Montrose's army had increased to upwards of 6000, and he even threatened Perth, where the Parliament sat. His troops had undergone a long training, and were elated with victory: Those brought against him were raw levies, with as much training as hampered their native impetuosity. Baillie was appointed to watch his motions on one side, while a detachment also threatened him from the west. As, therefore, he passed the ford a little above Stirling, he was overtaken by Baillie with at least an equal force, at a village called Kilsyth, near the Roman

wall; but, as the parliamentary general was not disposed to hazard a battle on this ground, he, in order to stop the other's advance, took up a position remarkably calculated for defence; yet such as rendered a movement towards the enemy hazardous in the extreme. The committee despising the enemy, and only afraid that he should escape to the mountains, insisted upon attacking him; and Baillie remonstrated in vain. The consequence was, that while the troops were marching on ground where it was impossible for them to make any effective resistance, the cavalry, at once assailed with the utmost fury, was thrown upon the foot, and thus brought all into such utter confusion, that Montrose pursued them with immense slaughter, for about fourteen miles. It is said that between four and five thousand perished, and the victory was gained with small loss. The event struck universal dismay, and the evils of war were augmented by a severe pestilence.

On the day following the battle of Kilsyth, by far the greatest of his exploits, Montrose marched into Clydesdale, and soon took Glasgow under his protection, when several of the nobility joined him. He even sent a party to Edinburgh to summon that city, and to command the immediate liberation of his imprisoned partizans. The last command was complied with, and the town sent deputies to implore his clemency.

* General Baillie's account, in the second vol. of Baillie's *Lett. Rush.* vol. vi. p. 230. Wishart, ch. xiv. and xv.

This success equally misled the presumptuous Montrose and his master, as it even deceived their enemies. No place of strength had he ever possessed himself of; and his army, far from augmenting in proportion to his hopes, daily diminished, while the country was every where inflamed against him, for his uniform plunder, murders, and devastation. The Gordons deserted him, and as he marched south, with the view of forming a junction with Digby, and proceeding to England, many of the Highlanders returned to their hills. The defeat of Digby was soon followed by his own. David Leslie returned with his horse and some foot, and, by rapid marches, expected at the Forth to intercept the flight of Montrose to the mountains; but when he reached Gladsmuir, about three miles and a half to the west of Haddington, he learned that the enemy was stationed at Ettrick Forest, near Selkirk, and instantly penetrated into that district. The ability shewn by Montrose in his irregular warfare, did not mark his generalship here; for Leslie was within a mile of his camp before he suspected his approach. He instantly prepared for battle on Philiphaugh; and his foot resisted Leslie's cavalry, till that general, having led on his own regiment, threw them into confusion; and as Montrose was deficient in horse, the infantry, once broken, were in the enemy's power. They were therefore either cut off or taken. Montrose repeatedly rallied his horse in the flight, but his efforts only augmented his loss. His only resource was disgraceful flight to

the mountains, where he tried to levy fresh forces ; but, on the pacification with his master, orders arrived to abandon his design, and he escaped to the Continent *.

Some of the prisoners taken at this battle were executed as traitors, even according to statutes particularly passed in the beginning of the year against those who carried on intestine war against the parliament: 100 of the Irish were shot at a post †.

Irish af-
fairs and
transactions
of Glamor-
gan.

It will now be necessary to take a survey of the transactions of Glamorgan in Ireland. Ormonde, as we have seen, had, by following out his instructions, endeavoured to procure the co-operation of the Irish, on terms which Charles had, with every solemnity, denied that he would ever grant ; but, as negotiations were carried on with the queen, and Sir Kenelm Digby solicited assistance directly from the Pope, his holiness dispatched J. Baptista Rinuccini as his nuncio, to encourage the Irish to insist on the restoration of their religion, as the price of recovering the king's absolute power, and Charles only hesitated on the conditions, from a fear of for ever forfeiting the support of his protestant subjects, and even raising them as one man against him. Ormonde had been so reproached by the chief protestants in Ireland for his conces-

* Wishart speaks of the amazing cruelty practised by Lesslie, drowning hundreds by throwing them over a bridge, though there was no bridge there ; and he estimates the number thus murdered far beyond what he would allow to have been on Montrose's side ! I presume that the 100 Irish were the individuals which misled the distinguished editor of the *Memoirs of the Somervilles*. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 164.

† Scots Acts, lately published.

sions,—which were indeed such as were incompatible with the existence of the protestant body, while there was a scheme to join in warlike operations against Monroe's army, that,—as well as in some measure from principle, he declined to proceed farther, and Lord Herbert, now created Earl of Glamorgan, being a rigid papist, was selected as a fit instrument for conducting the business; for the queen, dissatisfied with Ormonde, had already declared that no protestant was to be trusted in such an affair: Glamorgan had some property in Ireland, which afforded him an excuse to visit that country; but it is extraordinary that notice of the commission was secretly obtained long before the full disclosure, by papers found on the person of the titular archbishop of Tuam, who was slain at Sligo, and those got at Padstow. The promises made to Glamorgan, were repeated to the nuncio. "My instructions and powers," says that nobleman, in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, dated the 11th of June 1660, "were signed by the king under his pocket signet, with blanks for me to put in the names of the pope or princes, to the end that the king might have a starting hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects, leaving me as it were at the stake, who, for his majesty's sake was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone. In like manner did I not stick upon having this commission inrolled or assented unto by his council, nor indeed the seal to be put on it in an ordinary manner, but as Mr. Endymion Porter and I could perform it with roll-

ers and no screw-press *." It was even resolved that the king "should have seemed angry with him at his return out of Ireland, until," says he, "I had brought him into a posture and power to own his commands, to make good his instructions, and to reward my faithfulness and zeal therein." The royal design, as disclosed in the same letter, was to bring one army of 10,000 from Ireland, through North Wales, and another of the same strength through South Wales; while a third, of 6000, should have been brought from the Continent, and supported by the pope and catholic princes at the rate of L. 30,000 a-month. Fully empowered to treat with the pope and catholic princes, as well with the Irish, and even to erect a mint, and dispose of the revenue and delinquents' estates, Glamorgan sets out for Ireland; but lest Ormonde should suspect the extent of his powers, the most unworthy artifices by the king were resorted to. In a short time he concluded a treaty with the confederated council of the Irish catholics, for the supply of troops, upon the condition of removing all disqualifications, and allowing their clergy to retain all the livings which they had held from December 1641. Though Herbert's commission had been suspected, yet the steady denial of it by Charles, had silenced the rumours regarding it, till the seizure of the papers at Padstow developed the whole business. While the affair produced the utmost consternation among the king's friends, Digby ar-

* Does not this service performed by Porter cast some light upon what is stated in vol. iii. p. 190-1?

rived in Ireland; and, perceiving that the general belief in the circumstance would prove fatal to the royal character with his protestant subjects, as well as eager to supersede Glamorgan in the command of the army, he, in conjunction with Ormonde, commits him to prison on a charge of high treason, for having counterfeited a commission from his master, and grossly abused his name. But Glamorgan, confident in his innocence in that respect, and of his continued influence over the king, bore the imprisonment with cheerfulness; and, as he expected, Charles, after the most solemn disclamations of ever having granted that individual powers which were not to be exercised under the guidance of Ormonde, wrote for his liberation, when, in pursuance of his original powers, backed with fresh letters from Charles, the accused recommenced his intrigues. Though concealment was still practised, the lord lieutenant, (who had been much exasperated by a discovery that Glamorgan had formed a design with the catholics to seize his person,) was not to be longer deceived, and while he declined to appear in the negotiations, he declared he would not oppose them; but in the mean time, he carried on a separate treaty himself. The fall of Chester, and ruin of the royal affairs elsewhere, rendered the treaties fruitless; but the intrigues were still persisted in by that misguided prince*.

* For a proof of Glamorgan's commission, See Birch's Enquiry; Clar. State Papers, vol. ii. p. 201-3, 337. See the passage referred to in p. 337;—in our hist. vol. iii. p. 189; See also Clar. State papers, p. 346. "I could wish," says Hyde, or Clarendon, in the letter here

The king's negotiations with the parliament during his stay at Oxford.

Having given an account of the transactions of Glamorgan, it may now be necessary to relate the immediate proceedings of the king. Defeated in the field, and disappointed, both in foreign sup-

referred to, written to Nicholas, 7th March, 1647, "I could wish the king should sadly apply himself to the part he is to act, that is, to suffer resolutely, and to have no tricks; but, on my conscience, if he had any noble design, Denbigh would serve him stoutly and faithfully; and if he comes into France, I will pass my life he will send me all the intelligence he thinks of moment to my own particular, or that part of the public I intend. *You do not believe that my Lord Digby knew of my Lord Glamorgan's commission and negotiation in Ireland. I am confident he did not; for he shewed me the copies of letters which he had written to the king upon it, which ought not in good manners to have been written, and I believe will never be forgiven by those for whose service they were written.*"

See as to Digby's supposed selfish motive for arresting Glamorgan, Birch's Enq. p. 105. See Clar. State papers regarding the opinion entertained by the queen of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 178. See p. 168-175, in proof of the reflections by the Irish protestants, who had supported the royal pretensions to a certain extent, which were flung out against Ormonde for the concessions to the Catholics, concessions, they alleged, that put the island into the power of that body. As to the transporting of Glamorgan's commission, and the eagerness with which it was expected, see Carte's Let. vol. i. p. 80-2. Birch, p. 58. Clar. State Papers, vol. ii. p. 187. Had the editor of the Clarendon papers attended to the letters published by Carte, he would have found that no other commission could be alluded to here.

As part of Mr. Hume's argument against the genuineness of the commission to Glamorgan is founded on the king's character for sincerity, we shall begin our examination of his reasoning with a few remarks on that subject. "I shall first remark," says he, regarding the imputation of insincerity, "*that this imputation seems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not insist on this accusation.* Ludlow, I think, is almost the only parliamentarian who imputes that vice to him; and how passionate a writer he is must be obvious to every one. *Neither Clarendon, nor any other of the royalists ever justify him from insincerity, as not supposing that he had ever been accused of it.* In the second place, his deportment and character in common life was free

plies, and in his hopes from Ireland, he resorted to negociation without abandoning his intrigues, both with the Irish catholics and foreign states. His professions, in which he made a notable abuse of

from that vice: He was reserved, distant, stately, cold in his address, plain in his discourse, inflexible in his principles, wide of the caressing, insinuating manners of his son, or the professing talkative humour of his father." Note F. to vol. vii. That any writer who had the slightest respect for his own character, not merely as an historian but as a man, should have written thus, is truly astonishing; but, indeed, it is the less wonderful in a writer who, (not to mention other things,) after having told us, that "it must be confessed, that though Laud deserved not the appellation of papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish; and that not only the discontented puritans believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into the Romish superstition; the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island," could yet say, in treating of the trial of Laud, "the groundless charge of popery, though belied by his whole conduct, was continually urged against him:" It is not so astonishing in a writer who alleges, with every degree of scorn, that Hampden, St. John, and others, (the fact is very doubtful, not to say unauthenticated in regard to them,) had determined to go to America, that they might enjoy long fanatical prayers, which were not allowed them in England:—who, after stating that even the Dutch and Walloon congregations were, contrary to all former practice, commanded to attend the established church, and giving an account of the proceedings in the star-chamber relative to the "zealots," who had erected themselves into a society for buying impropriations—that they might establish lecturers of their own—and, in fact, justifying the general proceedings, on the ground that the principles of toleration were then unknown—yet boldly asserts, that Laud never denied the puritan preachers separate places of worship, but only refused to let them enjoy livings in the established church, when they would not comply with its doctrines and ceremonies. With regard to the calumnies which he says were vented against Charles, it is utterly impossible that he could be ignorant for an instant, that they imported downright insincerity; indeed in transactions betwixt men, every charge against an individual of a departure from principle, must import insincerity: the one cannot be charged without necessarily involving the other. But let us just follow a few

religion, which he affected such an earnest wish to cultivate, however veiled over with a desire of putting a period to the distractions of the commonwealth, were all calculated to obtain for him that

of Mr Hume's own statements in regard to the conduct of Charles immediately after the execution of Strafforde. He says, "In vain did Charles expect, as a return for so many instances of unbounded compliance, that the parliament would at last shew him some indulgence, and would cordially fall into that unanimity, to which, at the expense of his own power, and of his friend's life, he so earnestly invited. All his concessions were poisoned by their suspicion of his want of cordiality; and the supposed attempt to engage the army against them, served with many as a confirmation of this jealousy. It was natural for the king to seek some resource, while all the world seemed to desert him, or combine against him;" (Query? What is the meaning of this, but that it was natural for him to engage the army against the parliament, a parliament of whose "transactions, during the first period of its operations," till the king's journey to Scotland, he himself says, "we shall find that, excepting Strafforde attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweigh their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty.") He concludes the sentence thus, "and this," (what, except engaging the army against them?) "probably was the utmost of that embryo scheme, which was formed with regard to the army. But the popular leaders still insisted that a desperate plot was laid, to bring up the forces IMMEDIATELY, and offer violence to the parliament; a design of which Percy's evidence acquits the king, and which the near neighbourhood of the Scottish army seems to render absolutely impracticable." The perplexity of this passage we shall not dwell upon, and we have already remarked sufficiently on Percy's letter, (vol. iii. p. 113-14, and 58.) But did not the charge insisted on by the parliament, imply insincerity? nay, the most unbounded perfidy? Did it not directly import this,—the royal professions, with the passing of laws, cannot be trusted, since the perfidious object of this plot is to overturn all law? See again, what Mr. Hume says in regard to the incident. But what is his language in regard to the Irish rebellion? "When the people heard that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their acts of violence, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity

unlimited power which it had been the object of his reign to usurp. The views with which the Scots had entered England, have already been sufficiently developed. The lust of dominion which

of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman." Did not this involve an accusation of the last degree of perfidy in the face of all his solemn appeals? "Amidst the greatest security, they," (the commons,) says he, "affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation, and seemed to quake at every breath of danger," &c. "When Charles dismissed the guard which they had ordered during his absence, they complained, and, upon his promising them a new guard, under the command of the Earl of Lindsay, they absolutely refused the offer, and were well pleased to insinuate, by this instance of jealousy, that their danger chiefly arose from the king himself." If all this do not import a belief or accusation of insincerity, the word has no meaning; we might follow this throughout his history, and yet the imputation of insincerity was of a later growth than Charles's own age!—though every charge in regard to Ireland, and, in particular, that relative to Glamorgan's transaction, carries such an imputation on the face of it. Thus Mr. Hume stands self-confuted; but we might also ask what he means by alleging that Ludlow was the first to impute insincerity to Charles, when the state papers, published during the king's life, nay, before the civil war, and even addressed to him, directly charge him with perfidy? Let the reader just look back to our quotations from them, in the preceding volume, p. 322 and 332. See again, p. 604, and consider that the evidence of the army plot was published purposely to affix it to him, in spite of his professions. Let it likewise be remembered, that the parliament, in the face of his most solemn denial, accompanied with oaths, voted that the king intended to raise war against them, and that he had been tampering with foreign powers, to introduce their troops into the kingdom. But had Hume never seen the introduction to, and annotations on, "the king's cabinet opened," and the introduction to Digby's cabinet, where the royal professions are contrasted with the letters? &c. Indeed, the only object in publishing the letters, was to unveil Charles's treacherous designs. Had he never seen, for instance, the *Eikonoklastes*, or answer by Milton, to the *Eikon Basilike*; not to mention other works? Even Fairfax dissuaded the Parliament from treating, in consequence of the discovery of the king's perfidy, by the letters got at Padstow, and he pronounces the arrestment of Glamo-

tempted them, in so intolerant a manner, to insist upon the obtrusion of their own ecclesiastical system in England, had not only alarmed the independents, properly so called, but all the intelligent

gan to have *only been for a present colour, to salve reputation with the people*. Rush, vol. vi. p. 107. Birch, p. 122-3, 1756. We might quote many works, but it is unnecessary. Even the gentle Baillie calls Charles, during his life, *excessively bloody, and false, and hypocritical*, &c. With regard to what Hume says about Clarendon, and other royalist writers, not justifying the king from insincerity, as, not supposing that he had ever been accused of it; it need not surprise us after what we have seen of this historian's mode of writing. Does not Clarendon justify his master from the army plot, the incident, the Irish rebellion, &c. &c. and do not all these import perfidy to his people and Parliament? But, farther, does not, as we have amply shewn, that noble author fully confirm the charge, by informing us that acts of parliament were passed, under a secret intention of taking advantage of a pretext to disregard them—that, in the face of the most solemn disclamations, accompanied by appeals to heaven for his sincerity—of any purpose to make war, he had fully resolved upon it? &c. The passage quoted above, from one of that historian's private letters, and another referred to, as quoted in our preceding volume, prove his idea of his master's sincerity. But Mr. Hume can even defend the passing of bills, with a secret intention to disregard them, because they had been passed by the houses, while they had not full liberty. When, then, could the Parliament ever after rely on any treaty? He says that Charles' secret purpose only referred to the bill about the bishops, and that for pressing troops; though Clarendon, *his own only authority*, after stating that he had passed those two bills, on that principle, says expressly, "*I doubt this logic had an influence upon other acts of no less moment than these*," vol. ii. p. 430. Even Hume himself, as we have seen, is obliged to admit that he was tampering with the army, to engage it against the Parliament, before his journey to Scotland. As to the inflexibility of Charles' principles then, I know not what is meant by it, unless that he obstinately denied such concessions as alone could afford a security to the people against a recurrence of an utter disregard of every legal principle to which he had bound himself. As to his private conduct, we need only refer to his offer to give his testimony in favour of Buckingham, and his treatment of Williams. But he was

portion of the community, including the majority of both houses, who did not believe that any peculiar system of church government was prescribed by the author of revelation. Obstructions were

cold and reserved in his manner. Why, this very Mr. Hume ever charges the puritans and presbyterians with hypocrisy, on account of their cold reserved manner. Yes, but then Charles had neither the professing, talkative humour of his father, nor the caressing, insinuating manner of his son. Now, does he allow that the first was a hypocrite? He does, indeed, say that his wisdom bordered on cunning, but he pronounces "his intentions just." Then what is his character of Charles II.? Let the reader examine it. It formed, forsooth, a complete contrast to that of Tiberius, with which Burnet had compared it; for "the emperor was provident, wise, active, jealous, malignant, *dark, sullen, unsociable, reserved, &c.*" For my part, I should like to know whether any man would not rather trust an open, frank disposition, than a cold, reserved one? Whether Fielding, and other writers, evinced an utter want of knowledge in the human heart, when they drew their fictitious characters: and as for *professions*, have we not seen enow of them? The sincerity of Charles, after what we have proved, cannot be longer a matter of controversy.

We shall now proceed to an examination of Glamorgan's transactions. Lord Herbert, now created Earl of Glamorgan, son of the Marquis of Worcester, had early been deeply in the confidence of Charles. (Birch, p. 350, *et seq.* Clar. State Papers, vol. ii. p. 144, *et seq.*) And, on the 27th December, 1644, Charles writes to Ormonde, "My Lord Herbert having business of his own in Ireland, (wherein I desire you to do him all lawful favour and furtherance) I have thought good to use the powere I have, both in his affection and duty, to *engage him in all possible ways, to further the peace there*; which he hath promised to do. Wherefore, as you find occasion, you may confidently use and trust him in this, or any other thing he shall propound to you, for my service, there being none in whose *honesty and zeal to my person and honour I have more confidence*, so I rest yours, &c." To this the following postscript was added in cipher: "His honesty and affection to my service will not deceive you; but I will not answer for his judgment." Carte's Ormonde, Append. to vol. ii. Rush. p. 17. This, from the sequel will evidently appear to have been calculated to afford "the starting hole" which Charles so ardently desired: But Hume, of course, lays hold of it, to prove that

therefore thrown in the way of their intolerant proceedings; and men, alarmed by the disclosure of their principles, determined that if Presbyterianism ever were established, it should be under limi-

the king had too contemptible an opinion of the earl's understanding to trust him in such a matter; and to shew how justly his majesty estimated the nobleman's powers, he alludes to a publication of his. But the earl does not appear, as a politician, however absurdly he might on so curious a subject as his work comprehends, to have been contemptible; and nothing can afford a better proof of the idea formed of his capacity, than the confidence of Hyde and others with the great powers—including those of conferring honours—which had been granted to him. Birch. p. 18, *et seq.* Besides, a limited capacity would have been no objection to his employment; for Clarendon informs us, that Charles, and he imputes the failing to kings in general, afraid lest he should be thought to be led by an able minister, committed his affairs to weak men, whom he soon allowed to acquire an ascendancy over him. Life, vol. i. p. 96. After the discovery of the commission, and the effect it produced, Digby, who is accused of having acted from unworthy motives, alleging that the belief in such a commission to Glamorgan by the king, would confirm all the charges against Charles, in regard to his having been accessory to the rebellion, prevailed on Ormonde to commit that nobleman to prison, on a suspicion of treason, as the commission must either have been forged, or surreptitiously gained. "Or, if possible, the earl had any colour of authority, it was certainly bound up and limited by such instructions and declarations of his majesty's intentions therein, as would in no wise license the said earl to any transaction of that nature; but most confident he was that the king, to redeem his crown, his own life, the lives of his queen and children, would not grant unto them" (the Irish) "the least piece of concessions so destructive to his regality and religion." Ib. p. 93, 94. But Glamorgan bore the ignominious restraint with patience, and wrote to his wife, assuring her both of his perfect integrity, and of the king's continued favour. Yet he is said to have produced to the council the following defeasance, signed on the day after the treaty, by the same commissioners who had subscribed it. That the earl "did no way intend to oblige his majesty, other than he himself should please, after he had received those 10,000 men as a pledge of the said Roman Catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his majesty; yet he promised faithfully, upon his word

tations that would render it innocuous. Parliament, with this view, prudently introduced that species of ecclesiastical government, with a complete subordination to the civil. The grounds upon which

and honour, *not to acquaint his majesty with this defeasance*, till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his majesty to the granting of the particulars in the said articles; but that done, the said commissioners discharged the said Earl of Glamorgan, both in honour and conscience, of any farther engagement to them therein, though his majesty should not be pleased to grant the said particulars in the articles mentioned; the said earl having given them assurance upon his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any person whatsoever, discover this defeasance in the interim, without their consent." Carte's Ormonde, vol. i. p. 551. The first author, so far as I know, who alluded to this strange document, was Carte, and he refers to a manuscript for his authority. His papers are at Oxford; but I omitted to examine whether this formed part of them. If it do not; or if the original itself be not there, I am afraid it cannot deserve a moment's attention. For is it not beyond all measure strange, that Ormonde, Digby, Secretary Nicholas, and even the king himself, and all his friends, in all their attempts to remove the odium of this transaction, by charging Glamorgan with having exceeded his powers, and having even forged a commission, never once so much as alluded to this document in support of a statement to which all their protestations could procure no belief? Mr. Hume quotes it as conclusive in favour of the king, and yet Charles and all his friends were so blind to the plainest fact, as not to see it. But taking it as genuine, it admits of an easy solution. Charles had resolved to have "a starting hole," in case of failure, since a disclosure without success, necessarily withdrew from him the support of the whole protestant body; but it was no less expedient for the catholics to prevent such a catastrophe, since, in that case, all that portion of the protestant party, who were now inclined to favour them to a certain extent, for their own security, would, on the publication of such concessions, leave them naked to the vengeance of the parliament. If it were presented by Glamorgan, too, it is not unlikely that it was prepared at the time and antedated. That his commission and powers were never doubted by the catholics, is a fact beyond all question; and it is strange that Charles does not, in his dispatches, deny the commission, but alleges that his instructions were exceeded; and that Nicholas, in his dis-

any individual could be excluded from the sacrament, were defined; and the church was interdicted from interfering with any question betwixt man and man. Every presbytery was tempered

patches, at the time, pretends with Digby, that if genuine, it was surreptitiously obtained—an expression which can merely import that the king acted without advice of his council. We may remark, too, *First*, that the assurances, &c. were repeated in a letter to the nuncio, specially written by Charles, and also in another to the pope; *Secondly*, that Ormonde had particularly recommended him to the leading catholic, Lord Muskerry, to whom Ormonde subscribes himself *his most affectionate servant and brother*. *Thirdly*, That Glamorgan, at the treaty, took an oath (which was pretended by Digby to be one cause of the earl's committment) “for the punctual performance of what he had, as authorized by his majesty, obliged himself to see performed, and in default, not to permit the army entrusted to his charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his majesty, and by his majesty, be performed.” Birch, p. 71-2. It may perhaps be conceived that a nobleman of their own persuasion, so bound down, and likewise authorized by the king, ought to have been safely trusted with the defeasance. But is it at all conceivable that men should oblige him to swear thus, if they knew that he had no powers to treat, and therefore perjured himself by the oath he took? and *Fourthly*, that in all the after transactions between that nobleman and the catholics, for the treaty was renewed; the original powers of Glamorgan are assumed as indisputable. But, if they knew that he possessed no such authority, what motive could they have for acting thus, after the disclosure of the defeasance?—Thus, then, the main argument of Hume falls to the ground; and what is perfectly conclusive is, that Hyde (Clarendon) and Secretary Nicholas, who had every opportunity of ascertaining the fact, and the latter of whom had been employed, at the disclosure, to disclaim the powers, appear by their correspondence to have regarded them as quite unquestionable. Surely men of their talents, who had all opportunities of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the royal character, as well as of ascertaining the truth, and who had a direct interest in wishing it to be otherwise, deserve infinitely more attention than Mr. Hume. And I repeat that, as they never alluded to the defeasance, nothing short of the original instrument can be received as evidence to outweigh the presumption thence arising against its authenticity. The paper ccccxviii. in the third vol. of *Cartes Ormonde*, appears to me decisive of this point.

with lay elders ; but from it there lay an appeal to the synod, from the synod to the assembly, from the assembly to the parliament, or commissioners

Charles's disclamations were all taken by both catholics and protestants, as a mere device to divert the present storm. Glamorgan was made a prisoner on the 20th of December, 1645 ; and, on the 30th of January, Charles says in a letter to Ormonde, " I cannot but add to my long letter, that, *upon the word of a Christian*, I never intended Glamorgan should treat any thing, without your approbation, much less your knowledge. For besides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his judgment, though I could not think him so extremely weak ; as now, to my cost, I have found," &c. Birch, p. 89, *et seq.*

Thus writes he on the 30th of January, to Ormonde, and it is not without justice that Mr. Hume remarks ; " it is impossible that *any man of honour*, however he might dissemble with his enemies, would assert a falsehood in so solemn a manner, to his best friend." If then we establish beyond all question that he did so dissemble, the character of that prince must be abandoned as indefensible. On the 3d of February, or four days after the above letter to Ormonde, he writes to Glamorgan, but he evinces an anxiety, chiefly for the consequences to himself, and assures that nobleman that he will bring him so off, that he may be still useful, and that he (the king) shall be able to recompense him for his affection, if he will follow advice, which was clearly to take the blame. Id. p. 356-7. But on the 28th. of the same month, his majesty addresses the Earl thus : "*Herbert, I am confident that this honest trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction why I have not in every thing done as you desired, the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you ; for, believe me, it is not in the power of any one to make you suffer, in my opinion, by ill offices. But of this and dyverse other things I have given Sir John Winter so full instructions, that I will say no more, but that I am your most assured constant friend,*" Charles R. Oxford 28th February, 1645. This Sir John Winter was the earl's cousin-german, a rigid Catholic, and lately appointed secretary to the queen, Id. p. 359. Glamorgan was released on the 21st of January, partly at the request of the confederated Irish, who declared that his liberty was necessary for preparing the levies, and he never slackened his diligence in the business he was sent on ; even Ormonde, who had been much influenced by an idea that the earl meant to arrest and

specially appointed by it. The powers of the assembly were strictly defined, and extremely limited, while their proceedings were, as we have said,

supersede him,—he had even obtained powers for the last,—then assured him that he might securely go on in the way he, (Glamorgan) had proposed himself to serve the king, without fear of interruption from him, or so much as inquiring into the means he worked by, *Id.* p. 138-163, *et seq.* Even Digby, far from censuring him longer, courted his friendship, p. 360. At first he tried to prevail on the Catholics, to consent to terms more consonant to the feelings of the king's protestant supporters, and consequently more agreeable to the royal interest, with secret assurances of greater concessions afterwards; but as the Pope had been applied to for pecuniary assistance, the nuncio insisted that the funds of his holiness should not be advanced without something like an equivalent, and he even objected to the conditions of the treaty, which had been divulged—particularly to that of secrecy, which he conceived to be attended equally with dishonour and insecurity. Yet it is extraordinary that he never once alluded to the defeasance? Glamorgan, therefore, found himself obliged to abandon the more moderate views, and recur to his former: in all the transactions, the original powers and treaty are referred to as unquestionable. On the 5th April, Charles writes thus:

“Oxford 5th April, 1646.”

“GLAMORGAN,

I have no tyme, nor doe you expect that I shall make unnecessary repetitions to you. Wherefore, (referring you to Digby for business,) this is only to give you assurance of my constant friendship, which, considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot be but confident of my making good all instructions and promises to you and the nuncio.

Your most assured constant friend,

Id. p. 360-1.

CHARLES R.”

The last words printed in italics, “*my making good,*” &c. are written in cipher. Though Digby now affected a desire of reconciliation with Glamorgan, Charles did not conceive him trust-worthy in the business, (see Hyde's letter, quoted above,) and, therefore, except what is expressed in cipher, Charles is cautious, pretending to refer Glamorgan to that individual. But on the following day, he uses a different language.

subject to the review of the legislature; but there was another important change in the institution of that assembly: instead of permitting it to be com-

“HERBERT,

As I doubt not but ye have too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage ye have had; so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me a desyre of revenge and reparation to us bolke, (for in this I hold myselfe equally interestt with you.) Wherefor, not douting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you; and that in deeds more than in words, I shall shew myselfe to bee,

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, 6th April, 1646.”

Id. p. 361-2.

Now, who are they that his majesty alludes to, as the individuals against whom he feels such a desire of revenge and reparation? I presume they could be no other than those who proceeded against that Lord—viz. Ormonde and Digby. What then becomes of the effect given by Hume to the letter from Charles “*to his best friend?*”

But the following letter is the most conclusive of all:

“GLAMORGAN,

I am not so strictly guarded, but that if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind, I having always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is as dear to me as my own. If you can raise a large sum of money, by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it; and if I recover them, I will fully repay that money. And tell the *nuncio*, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it. And if I do not say this from my heart, or in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next, to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends, to none of whom am I so much

posed of divines and elders selected by the respective presbyteries, the parliament, conceiving that the discussions of ecclesiastics were harmless

obliged as yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions that can be used by your constant friend.

CHARLES R.

From Newcastle, July 20, 1646.

Now, what has been the course pursued by Mr. Hume in the vindication of Charles? At first he took no notice of Birch's Enquiry, contenting himself with repeating the assertions of Carte (Birch, p. 348.); but as he found this would no longer satisfy the public, he, on that subject, writes a long note, in which he dwells on the defeasance; and, referring only to the letter of 5th April, passing all the others over in total silence, as if no such letters had been in existence, though they are all given by Birch, all too (with one exception) from the originals in the British Museum,—he pretends that this alludes to a new negociation, as the former had been broken off. For this too he quotes Birch, though that author produces documents which incontestibly prove that the original powers and instructions to Glamorgan, and the assurances to the nuncio, were the basis of all the subsequent transactions: But is it not extraordinary that a writer of such acuteness as Hume, should set out with proving that Glamorgan was a man of too limited a capacity to be trusted by Charles before any alleged demerit; and yet that he should conclude with contending, that, after such a breach of confidence, he should still be deemed worthy of a fresh employment, of as high a nature as that disputed. It may be observed that the queen's confessor, Father George Leyburn, provoked the nuncio, by disclaiming Glamorgan's instructions, and that yet the same father, in his memoirs, gives an account of the matter as quite unquestionable. See his memoirs, and passages from them in Birch, p. 319, *et seq.* Since the publication of Birch's work, the facts have been put beyond all doubt, if doubt could have possibly existed, by the Clarendon papers, already quoted by us.

But why should they have been doubted? Was it that the concessions were too great? Charles had, during his stay in the Peninsula, proposed to bring back his whole kingdoms to the Catholic church, and a negociation for that purpose had afterwards proceeded far. Was it that he denied the facts? He, on the 8th of April, 1642, called God to witness

in comparison of the intrigues and cabals of eminent laymen, who might endeavour to make the assembly of the church the means of erecting an independent government in the state, excluded laymen from forming a constituent portion of it. This was a severe blow to the aspiring hopes of an interested priesthood, as well as of their lay brethren, who already possessed in fancy the civil of-

"that he would never consent, upon whatsoever pretence, to a toleration of the Popish profession, or abolition of the laws now in force against Popish recusants in Ireland;" and took the sacrament from Archbishop Usher, that he would never connive at Popery, (Birch, p. 278-9, Husb. Col. p. 134, Rush. vol. iv. p. 346,) and yet his own letters prove, beyond all question, that he proposed to "bargain away" the whole penal laws on that subject. As for yielding to the desires of his Catholic subjects, had it not implied a breach of faith, and lust of power, it could not have been condemned. But the horrid guilt was in endeavouring to purchase the assistance of the atrocious actors in the Irish rebellion, to subjugate Britain: and then, had they succeeded, they might and would have imposed their creed. Yet this is, of course, defended by Hume, who alleges that it was necessary, for the safety of himself, his wife, children, and friends. But why were his own, and their safety ever in danger? Because nothing short of the overthrow of the laws which made him king would content him. He might even still have reigned secure, by adequate concessions; and his *friends*, far from wishing him to pursue the course he took, were only prevented from deserting him as one man, by his denials of the truth. They all too, (but Hyde, and perhaps one or two more, who could not brook their own proscription,) urged Charles to enter into an accommodation with his parliament; and by doing so, they only brought against themselves, from this very king, a charge of villainy and treason.

After all this, the candour of Hume, I doubt, cannot longer be defended, any more than that of the monarch whose cause he undertook. But, possibly, the reader may conceive that he has afforded to Charles a defence of an unexpected nature. For if an historian can be vindicated for sitting down coolly to misrepresent

fices of the state. But even this arrangement was only by way of experiment *.

How inefficient the Scottish army had proved in this arduous contest, has been sufficiently seen. The leading men of that nation, and particularly the clergy, had depended more for the success of their schemes upon its anticipated achievements, than upon their own arguments in the assembly of divines. Imagining that the power of the parliament was broken, they trusted that, to the arms of their countrymen would be reserved the glory of a successful termination to the contest, and that when thus possessed of the military strength, they could not fail to secure the civil and ecclesiastical power. First 20,000 Scots had entered England, and then an additional 10,000

facts, through so many volumes, in defence of that misguided prince, we cannot condemn the infatuated individual himself.

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 280, *et seq.* Cobbet's, vol. iii. p. 444, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 133-4. 8. 149-50. 162, 3. 8. 9-70, 2-3, 4. 194, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 69, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vi. p. 265-7. 224, *et seq.* Selden had incurred the enmity of the High church party, before the beginning of this parliament; but because he would not subscribe to the terms of the Presbyterians, he was early denounced by them as "the avowed proctor for the Bishops." Baillie, vol. i. p. 245. Selden and Whitelocke having both spoken against the Presbyterian tyranny, "They," (the clergy) "were pleased to term me" (Whitelocke) "an Erastian, and a disciple of Selden," p. 169-70; see also, p. 110, 111. Selden and Whitelocke were, with many, other members of parliament, members of the assembly, and "Selden spake admirably, and confuted many of the divines in their own learning. And sometimes, when they cited a text of Scripture, to prove their assertions, he would tell them, perhaps, in your little pocket Bibles, with gilt leaves, (which they would often pull out and read) the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus, and so would totally silence them." Id. p. 71.

under Callander had joined the army; after this, there is reason to believe that recruits were likewise sent up; yet, as they lost great numbers at York and Newcastle, as well as by disease, and probably by desertion, while they garrisoned various towns which they occupied for their security, they could not bring 16,000 men into the field. In the old parliamentary army, many Scotchmen had held commissions; but all these were carefully excluded under the new model, and their countrymen regarded this as no favourable omen to their future hopes. When the Scottish army, at the beginning of the preceding summer's campaign, so miserably disappointed the hopes of the English parliament, that body naturally provided for the military destined to stand all the shock of the conflict, with more ungearied pains than for the Scottish, which they are accused of having neglected. But the latter supplied its own wants, by mercilessly plundering the country, and thus excited both against it and the northern kingdom, a general abhorrence in Englishmen.

Essex, after he was discarded, as well as Hollis, and their party, conceiving that their only chance to regain power was by uniting more closely with the presbyterians, complained loudly of the partiality shewn to the English army; but as they could not stimulate the Scottish army to any great exploit which might have recovered its character, they declaimed to unwilling ears against a better provision to that fine military body which in so

short a period accomplished the object of the war. The independent party, who now perceived that the army favoured their pretensions, advanced them more boldly; and, to the great indignation of the Presbyterians, both Fairfax and Cromwell pleaded, in their dispatches, for a Christian toleration to all opinions which did not involve principles pernicious to the state*. The commons, divided between the parties, was in a state of fac-

* Cromwell concludes his account of the battle nearly thus: "Sir, this is none other than the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God; and would rather perish than assume to himself, which is an honest and a thriving way; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he may trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." Rush. vol. vi. p. 46. "My Lord Fairfax," says Baillie, the divine, in a letter to Lord Lauderdale, dated four days after the battle, "sent up the last week an horrible antitriastrian; the whole assembly went in a body to the houses to complain of his blasphemies. It was the will of Cromwell, in the letter of his victory, to desire the house not to discourage those who had ventured their lives for them, and to come out *with the much desired liberty of conscience*." Vol. ii. p. 110, 111. Cromwell speaks more fully out in his letter on the taking of Bristol. The following passage in his letter regarding the capture of Bristol, appears to me good. "It may be thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made. Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good. It is their honour that God vouchsafes to use them." Rush. vol. vi. p. 85-8. Whitlocks, p. 172. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 73.

tion; the upper house had been considerably alienated from the lower; and as the Scottish army had been regarded by the presbyterian party as their chief strength, so its removal from England had been reckoned by the favourers of the independents, no less necessary for them. In the commission which had been granted to Fairfax, the clause for the safety of the king's person had been omitted; but, with a very few exceptions, the idea of changing the form of the government into a republic had not been contemplated. Some had, indeed, talked of executing justice upon the king; but even Ireton long afterwards, only declared that Charles had done enough to warrant his deposition, and placing the crown on the head of his son. The idea of deposing him does not appear to have been confined to the independents; it spread widely among the presbyterians, a portion of whom seem to have entertained the notion of imprisoning him, or even bringing him to the block*. But they still cherished monarchy, and indeed the Scots had a direct interest to maintain the kingly power, since it alone afforded them a pretext for claiming a footing in England. Both parties, therefore, still looked towards Charles as to a prince with whom it was possible to negotiate, and whose co-operation with either would confer ascendancy in the state.

* Baillie's Let. vol. ii. p. 208, *et seq.* and 353. Walker's Hist. of the Independents, p. 164.

Charles was no stranger to this posture of affairs; but, instead of being moved by it to coalesce with either, he was induced to play the same false and subtle game which had always distinguished him. Trusting that, by flattering each by turns, he might raise up such a jealousy between them, as would lead to a bloody contest, wherein each should aim at the other's extermination—when he should recover his power in their confusion—he endeavoured to sooth each, and poison it with inveteracy against the other. “Now, for my own particular resolution,” says he, in a letter to Lord Digby, on the 26th March, 1646, —“it is this. I am endeavouring to get to London, so that the conditions may be such as a gentleman may own, and that the rebels may acknowledge me king, being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating the one the other, *that I shall be really king again* *.” In the meantime, he was endeavouring to raise an army in Ireland, from amongst the insurgents there, whose acts had been so revolting to humanity, in order that, with their assistance, he should bear down all opposition, after the mutual exter-

* Carte's Ormonde, vol. iii. p. 452. Let any man read this letter, and collate it with those to Glamorgan, and his professions to the parliament, and defend the sincerity of Charles, if he can. “The truth is,” says Baillie, in a letter to his brother-in-law, written about November, 1645, regarding the king's messages for peace, “the truth is, secret letters written about the last treaty, make them trust him no more, and resolve to treat no more at all with him; only they will send him propositions, and require his positive answer,” vol. ii. p. 173.

mination of the parties whom he was courting in England. In regard to the Irish transactions, his conduct was still more reprehensible than those with the English and Scots: while he was assuring both Ormonde and Digby, in the most solemn language, that they alone possessed his confidence; and that Glamorgan had acted with equal want of judgment and honesty, he was secretly encouraging that earl to prosecute his schemes, by the promise of revenge against the two individuals, Ormonde and Digby, who had obstructed them. Glamorgan had even authority to supersede the marquis as lord lieutenant*. Such disingenuous policy, and attempts to overreach all parties, could succeed with none; and while Charles hugged himself upon the notion of deceiving all, he was, in reality, himself the only dupe of his own impostures.

He proposed that the power of the militia should be vested in certain individuals, and asked to be allowed forty days residence at Westminster, for the settlement of affairs, when he alleged that he doubted not to give them satisfaction, provided both houses, the lord mayor, and the common council, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the commissioners for Scotland, would come under an engagement for his safety, and liberty to return to Oxford. Parliament, however, saw through his designs, and determined to frustrate them by refus-

* See former note.

ing such an engagement. They therefore coldly answered, that they were preparing ordinances which, when he should agree to them, might be productive of a lasting peace. These ordinances put the power of the sword entirely into the hands of the parliament; but they gave offence to the Scots by reserving to each country the command of its own militia, while they also displeased the city of London, by withdrawing from it that portion of power which had been intended at the treaty of Uxbridge*. These mutual disgusts kindled additional hope in the royal breast, of stirring up the parties to mutual extermination, while, at the critical moment of their depression, he might, at the head of the Irish army, establish himself in uncontrolled authority. To the Independents, he urged the tyranny of the Presbyterians, and the necessity of combining with him for their own security. To the Presbyterians, he represented that the Independents were averse to monarchical government, and would sacrifice the interest of Scotland to their levelling principles; and that, therefore, their only chance of safety lay in joining with him, in order to subdue the Independents. The negotiation with the Presbyterians, and particularly the Scots, was conducted by

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 215, *et seq.* 249, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 182, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 159, *et seq.* Cobbet's, vol. iii. p. 404, *et seq.* Clar. Papers, vol. ii. p. 196, *et seq.* Hist. vol. iv. p. 745, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 184, *et seq.*

Montreville, the French ambassador, in his master's name, though it was afterwards alleged that he acted without sufficient authority. In his zeal for the service, he visited Scotland, and afterwards treated with the army. The intrigues with the Independents were managed by Ashburnham, who likewise sounded the English Presbyterians.

Out of Montreville's intrigues, arose a strange agreement, in the name of his master and the queen regent, on the one side, and Charles on the other—whereby the latter was promised security in the Scottish camp; and it has been said that, though Charles treated with the ambassador to avoid the disgrace of doing it with a rebellious army, the Scottish commanders had really agreed to the terms. But it is not easy to conceive what the conditions were, other than the personal safety of Charles, since it is established by Montreville's correspondence, subsequent to the agreement, that the Scots steadily adhered to their Presbyterian principles. That they were anxious to have the king with them, fully confiding in their power to persuade him to yield to their conditions, is a fact that rests on sufficient evidence: that Charles, who was now blockaded in Oxford, and terrified at the idea of being taken a prisoner by Fairfax, and led in ignominy to the metropolis, by his victorious army, which rapidly advanced, wished refuge, is no less certain. His hope was to engage the Scottish army on his side, and, with his characteristic dissimulation, he affirmed that, could they convince

his conscience of the truth of their Presbyterian tenets, he would immediately subscribe to them. The Scots, however, were not to be deceived. They saw through the springs of the royal ecclesiastical policy ; and one of their chief divines affirmed that no oaths would convince him that Charles was actuated by conscientious motives. While, therefore, the ecclesiastics were sufficiently ready to enter upon a discussion regarding Presbyterianism, they, as well as the statesmen, rested all their hopes of converting him, on the ground of their being able to satisfy his understanding—that it was for his interest to coalesce with them. Previous to his taking refuge in their camp, they intimated to him, through Montreville, the absurdity of his even wishing them to agree with him, on the principle of supporting the hierarchy, since, by such a proceeding, they would at once forfeit the co-operation of the English Presbyterians, and thus join both parties against themselves, who, in that case, unless they were guided by the chimerical hope of conquering England, could never expect to reinstate him in the throne. He proposed that they should co-operate with Montrose ; but though the Scotch army had been as selfish as he wished it, such policy was not reasonably to be anticipated, since, besides forfeiting the affection of the English, it would have lost the support of the party in Scotland which raised it, and, as the leading men justly argued, put all in the hands of the malignants, against whom they had hitherto

fought. Indeed, it is most likely that, had the officers really acted so treacherous a part to their country, they would have been deserted by the soldiers. This scheme, therefore, on which Charles so much relied, was rejected, and admission to his followers was even refused *.

In the meantime, as Fairfax was rapidly advancing to Oxford, while the town was already in a state of blockade, the king's situation there became critical; and to avoid the humiliation of being carried to London a captive, he determined if possible, to effect his escape. With only two attendants—Ashburnham and the Reverend Dr. Hudson—he, disguised as the servant of the first, left Oxford; but his route was not yet resolved upon. He hesitated whether to throw himself upon the mercy of London, or, if possible, retreat north to form a junction with Montrose, whose presumption misfortune could not cure. He proceeded to Henley, and from thence to Harrow on the Hill, within sight of London, uncertain whether at once to repair to the capital. Of this the parliament was very apprehensive, knowing that it would at once occasion intrigues to embroil affairs, by the pretext which it afforded his adherents of resorting thither; they, therefore, published an ordinance the instant they heard of his

King leaves
Oxford,
27th April,
and takes
refuge in the
Scottish
camp, 6th
May, 1646.

* Clar. Papers, vol. ii. p. 209, *et seq.* Hist. vol. iv. p. 747, *et seq.* Thurloe's State Papers, p. 72-4. 85, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 213. Append. to Evelyn's Mem: p. 115; *et seq.* Compare p. 104, and 118. Burnet's Mem. of the Hamiltons, p. 274.

retreat from Oxford—declaring that all who harboured the king, or, knowing of his resort, concealed it, should be proceeded against as traitors to the commonwealth, forfeit their whole estates, and die without mercy. They likewise ordered the immediate departure from London, of all papists, and soldiers of fortune who had borne arms against the parliament. In the meantime, Charles had visited families who recognised his person, though they affected ignorance of his quality ; and it is not to be doubted that he was, in this way, apprised of the ordinance which thus threatened to cut him off from all communication with his supporters. Having lingered for some time, where he twice narrowly escaped detection, first from a man intoxicated, and secondly from a hair-dresser, who observed the particular cut of the hair in spite of the attempt to conceal it by negligence—he at last turned towards the Scottish camp before Newark. This delay had been partly owing to his disappointment of a party of horse, which had been promised by Montreville, to escort him ; but which came at length. It is possible that, in spite of the negociation, Leven was surprised at the appearance of Charles ; yet, without pre-supposing that he was less acquainted with the intrigues than the other officers, we cannot believe that the surprise he showed was not in some measure assumed. But poor Montreville was reviled by them, and sacrificed by the French court to cover their own dark designs. Newark was, by the command of Charles,

surrendered to the Scots; and Montrose, by his orders, also laid down his arms. That individual had been again defeated in the north, and his influence was so reduced that he had resolved upon the strange expedient of employing his limited troops to impress an army*.

Conceiving that they had the game in their own hands, and being not immediately in a condition to resist the English parliament, which demanded the custody of the king's person, and sent Poyntz to watch their motions, the Scots retreated to Newcastle, as in the neighbourhood of their own resources. The parliament demanded the persons of Ashburnham and Hudson; but the Scots were prepared with an excuse when these individuals escaped. At Newcastle every means were taken to induce Charles to agree to the presbyterian establishment; and as he affected to be governed by conscience, though his private correspondence shows that he was actuated by worldly policy only, Henderson undertook to remove his scruples. A long written controversy ensued between them upon the respective merits of their creeds; but it ended as is usual with all discussions of that nature. Clarendon asserts that so excellent was the royal argument, that Henderson indirectly acknowledged himself to be vanquished. But such a story of a Scottish divine,

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 266, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 15, *et seq.* Wishart, chap. xx. Guthrey's Memoirs, p. 174, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 199, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 201, *et seq.*

whom interested motives could not sway, would have required great authority to confirm it; and, unfortunately for this, it is proved beyond doubt by private correspondence, that Henderson was only grieved to observe, that while Charles pretended to be influenced by conscientious scruples, he was really actuated by that perverted thirst for dominion, which had proved so calamitous to his country. Whether Charles was really the author of the controversial writings that pass under his name may well be questioned; but it has justly been remarked that the far-famed production is never read. The style is as stiff and pedantic as the thoughts are common-place*.

When he joined the Scots he declared it was not his intention to prolong the miseries of war; and Oxford, as well as the other garrisons, were surrendered to the conquerors, to whose credit it redounds, that, from the time of the new model, they were remarkable for the most scrupulous fulfilment of articles. The garrison of Oxford consisted of about 7000, containing the army the king had brought thither; and though part of them were Irish, not an insult was offered to one of their number. An order was at the same time issued by Charles for the surrender of Dublin; but secret instructions of a different kind were dispatched to his confidential agents; for he had determined not to desist from war; and though

* Clar. vol. v. p. 31. King Charles' Works. Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 205, *et seq.* A death-bed recantation was forged for Henderson, who died during the king's stay at Newcastle.

he sent a public dispatch to Ormonde, declaring, that as nothing but regard to the protestants of that distracted country, who otherwise must have perished, had induced him to treat, and thus desist from his purpose of executing vengeance on the rebels; so now he wished all negotiation to be suspended, that they might still be reserved for justice; yet he sent privately to the same nobleman, desiring him not to obey his public orders; and during his residence at Newcastle, he was concerting the means of raising an army of 20,000 in Ireland! A peace was concluded there by Ormonde, contrary to the orders of both houses. By this the Irish engaged to provide an army of 20,000, and pour them into Scotland. The stricter catholics, however, and their priests, were dissatisfied with the conditions; and as they refused to be bound by them, Glamorgan was instructed and empowered by the monarch, (also in the face of a letter sent to him by Charles to drop all proceedings,) to purchase their assistance on any conditions, even on that of pawning his three kingdoms*.

When he entered the Scottish camp, the English parliament, with the whole independent party at least, were under the most serious apprehensions that a new war was meditated; and the suspicion was soon strengthened by a letter from him to Ormonde, wherein he mentions his pur-

* See previous reference. Clar. Pap. vol. ii. p. 237. Carte's Ormonde, vol. iii. p. 452. Birch's Enquiry.

pose of proceeding to the Scottish army, in consequence of a promise from them to assist him in conjunction with the forces of Montrose—to procure a safe peace and the restitution of his own prerogative; and that as the circumstance would prevent troops from being transported by the rebels into Ireland, he desired that his letters should be shown to his friends on that side of the water, to make them resolute in his cause. It had been written a few days before his departure from Oxford; and, as it was circulated throughout Ireland by Ormonde, it fell into the hands of the Scottish general, Munro, who transmitted it to the English parliament. Great was the outcry against the Scots for their supposed perfidy; but they vindicated themselves by declaring the king's statement to be "*a most damnable untruth* *."

As the prospects of the Scots in relation to English affairs depended entirely upon the king's joining them on their own terms—by acknowledging the presbyterian discipline, and subscribing the covenant, they endeavoured by every species of entreaty and argument, to bring him to the conditions. Dreading too the influence of his former advisers, and jealous of the English, they tried to prevent access to the royal presence; and Charles, whose hopes had at first been sanguine, complained of ill treatment, though he afterwards did them the justice to own, that in re-

* Rush. vol. vi. p. 266, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 208. Cobbet's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 463, *et seq.*

gard to personal respect, he had no cause to complain.

The English parliament demanded delivery of the king's person; but the Scots,—arguing that Charles being their monarch, as well as that of England, they were fully as much entitled as their southern neighbours to that important charge; and that, in such a case, possession gave them a preferable right,—refused compliance. The English, on the other hand, maintained, that the Scots having entered England merely as auxiliaries, and having no right of jurisdiction there; and it having been in the capacity of auxiliaries, that his majesty had taken refuge in their camp—they were bound to receive directions from those who paid them for fighting their battles. Charles, however, believing at this time, from the language of the pulpit, which generally announced the public feelings, that the Scots were favourably disposed towards him, was inclined to reside for some time with the army. Their views were disclosed by the following passage from Scripture, which was by one of their preachers read before him: “And behold all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto him, why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king and his household, and all David's men with him over Jordan? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, because the king is near of kin to us: Wherefore be ye angry for this matter? Have we eaten at all at the king's cost; or hath he given us any

gift? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, we have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye; why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first heard in bringing back our king: and the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel."

Propositions having been agreed to by the parliament, and consented to by the Scotch commissioners, were transmitted to the king. In substance they did not materially differ from those made at the treaty of Uxbridge, except that the term demanded for vesting the power of the militia in commissioners, before it should be settled by bill, was prolonged from seven to twenty years. Charles, as if he had had only one satirical remark in store, nearly repeated the observation which he made both before the treaty of Oxford, and afterwards before that of Uxbridge; for, having demanded whether the commissioners from the parliament had any power to alter the conditions tendered to him, and having been answered in the negative, he told them that, saving the honour of the business, a common trooper might have equally well performed the part assigned them. As it was evident that he would not agree to the terms, negotiations both by the presbyterians and independents were set on foot to gain him. By the presbyterian party he was urged to close with them, ostensibly on their own terms, under the prospect of a mitigation of them, when the weight of the kingly character should,

with the settlement of affairs, give them the ascendancy in the state: But as he considered the hierarchy a necessary support to the throne, which again upheld the church, while he conceived the presbyterian government to be so destructive of monarchical power, that it would reduce him to the situation of a titular king, no persuasion prevailed upon him; yet, instead of giving an absolute negative, he pretended to found all his scruples upon a conscientious belief that episcopacy was a divine institution. The presbyterians, however, were not to be deceived. They justly regarded this as a mere device to gain time, till he consulted his masters beyond seas, and was in a situation to excite fresh commotions. They therefore endeavoured to alarm him, by asserting, that a great portion of the people, from his having been so bloody and false, had resolved to cast him and his family off for ever; and that if he did not quickly assent to the propositions, all men, even the presbyterians, would abandon him, when the scaffold or perpetual imprisonment would be his doom: but this effected nothing; it having been always the misfortune of this monarch, to believe that neither his person, nor the externals of royalty could be in danger. The queen, however, and all his confidential friends, importuned him to agree to the presbyterian government, provided he could reserve the power of the sword, since, by thus satisfying the Scots, he adopted the only means of saving himself for the present, and preserving the

chance of recovering his full regal authority. But he, declaring to them that the church was a more powerful engine than the militia; and that, once renounced, it might never be recovered, obstinately adhered to his resolution. He looked towards France for assistance, and was warned in vain that his hopes there would prove a dream *. Apprehensions were even entertained by his own friends, that if France interposed at all with any sufficient force, it would only be to reduce him to the state of a tributary prince; and resolutions were entered into by Hopton and Hyde to defeat any attempt against Jersey and Guernsey, (to the first of which the prince had retreated when Hopton was driven into Cornwall,)—an attempt which they were warned that the French court meditated in conjunction with Jermain, the king's agent and bosom friend, whom that perfidious court is said to have bribed to such a treason. At the same time,

* The correspondence on this subject in the Clar. Papers, is extremely valuable, and proves beyond all question the utter mistake which Mr. Hume laboured under on this most important subject. He says, that had Charles agreed to put down episcopacy, he would have so offended the religious feelings of his adherents, that he would have been deserted; whereas his friends, with the exception of Hyde, all urged him to the measure; and Jermyn, in one of his letters to Charles, declares that "there were not five or six persons of the protestant persuasion, who believed that episcopacy was *jure divino*, so as to exclude any other form of ecclesiastical polity; and that even the divines at the treaty of Uxbridge, would not, though much provoked thereunto, maintain that (we might say uncharitable) opinion, no, not privately among your commissioners." Vol. ii. p. 263. See also p. 242, *et seq.* generally; and Baillie's Letters.

Charles was deeply engaged in negociations with the Irish. To please the Scots, as we have already said, he sent a public dispatch to Ormonde to break off all treaties with the catholics, in order that, for their crimes and rebellion, they might be left to the punishment of the parliament; but, sensible that such a demand would be made of him, he had previously commanded that lord lieutenant to obey none of his public instructions. While, too, he was thus caballing with Ormonde, he was carrying on another correspondence with Glamorgan, calculated to involve the ruin even of the other. It is vain, therefore, to allege in his vindication, that, being a prisoner in the Scottish camp, and no longer a free agent, he was obliged to send dispatches of which he disapproved. With an individual who acted thus, there could be no safety in negociation; and so much was he accustomed to this disingenuous practice, that Clarendon, in one of his letters, mentions that a certain individual—probably himself—had lost the royal confidence for refusing to act in conformity with his secret intentions, in opposition to his warrants as monarch. Ormonde concluded a peace upon the condition of abrogating all the penal laws against the catholics; but, as the Pope had promised pecuniary assistance, and his nuncio flattered himself that the catholic interest would bear down all opposition, the peace was annulled, and Glamorgan negotiated for an army upon their own terms. Romantic promises were made of an immense force, which, assisted by the Pope, and joined with whatever could be raised

by Montrose, should recover for Charles the divine right which he pretended to have inherited from his ancestors. Flattered with this prospect of affairs, he meditated an escape to that kingdom—presaging that a rupture between the English and Scots would ensue upon his absence; and thence inferring, that when the two parties had been wearied and exhausted with mutual bloodshed, a great portion of the kingdom would fly to him for refuge against the pressure of the times.

From all these considerations Charles, deluded with the idea that he would deceive both parties, continued obstinate; and after the lapse of about eight months, the Scots determined to deliver him up to the English parliament. They indeed still declared their attachment to monarchy, though it was such a monarchy as would have left no power to the king; but they did not conceal their sentiments that monarchy was not inconsistent with the deposition and imprisonment of a prince who wilfully opposed the welfare of his subjects. They even declared in parliament, that it was only on the condition of his assenting to their propositions, that they would ever restore him; and that if he resisted the terms offered, and entered their country, they would confine him for the public good, and carry on the government without him. A great party, however, went so far as to conceive the idea of bringing him to the scaffold, in which they outdid the independents, who only entertained the idea of deposing him, and transferring the

crown to the Duke of York, who was in their custody.

It was when the Scots had lost all hopes of prevailing on the king, and were fully sensible that no trust could be reposed in him, that one of their ministers, after having uttered bold truths, ordered the psalm to be sung which begins thus,

“ Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise.”

But Charles, standing up in his place, called for the psalm which begins with

“ Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour;”

and the audience good-naturedly indulged him.

He, during his residence with the Scottish army, repeatedly proposed to go to London for the purpose of treating with his people; but the parliament as constantly resisted it, unless he would consent to their propositions, and sign the covenant: and matters came at last to a crisis. The English ordered the Scottish army to quit the kingdom, as they had no further use for their services; and the Scots only pretended to delay on the ground that great arrears were due to them. Their demand amounted to about two millions, but, after all the necessary deductions, it was reduced by the parliament to less than a fifth of that sum; and one of the implied, though not expressed conditions upon which the first instalment was paid, was that the custody of the king's person should be resigned to the English. This gave rise to a great scandal

King delivered up to the English, 30th January, 1647.

against the Scots, and their apology, in so far as the officers of their army was concerned, is not altogether admissible :—That they came into England merely as auxiliaries, and were, in the common cause, as deeply interested in securing the king's person as Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English army : That his refuge in their camp was a mere matter of necessity, to prevent an ignominious captivity ; and that, though they regretted that he had thrown himself upon their mercy, they did not conceive that his act could possibly absolve them from the solemn covenant they had taken when they engaged in the war : That, in short, the case was simply this, Charles saw that he would be a prisoner somewhere, and preferred the Scottish army for his keepers ; and it was ridiculous to suppose that an army, under the command of a committee of both kingdoms, could have any possible right to act for itself, in opposition to those principles on which it had been raised and kept a-foot. It is not easy to discover an answer to this argument, if we admit that it was urged in good faith. But it applies only to the Scottish parliament and their commissioners, and not to the military officers, who had been treacherously tampering with Charles through the French ambassador, and were, consequently, bound to continue their treachery to their employers, by affording him an opportunity to escape if he desired it. Affairs had become critical with the English, and even Hollis and his party, who ardently desired to favour the Scottish army, in opposition to that of Fairfax,

now urged its departure from the kingdom—imagining that, as the self-denying ordinance was only to continue during the war, his party might now alter the new model, and recover the military power into their own hands. In this, however, they were sadly disappointed; and they, in no small degree, attributed the failure of their expectations to the unexpected death of Essex, whom they wished to reinstate in the command, and round whom both that party and the Scots had rallied. If the previous professions of the Scots—that Charles would be brought to the scaffold if he obliged them to surrender his person—were sincere, they had no cause afterwards to complain of that catastrophe, since in that case they, by surrendering him, must be regarded as accessory to his fate. But the truth seems to be, that such notions had been principally harboured by themselves; and that it was only after a full experience of the perfidy of Charles, and the second resort to hostilities, together with his intrigues even in the Isle of Wight, and obstinate rejection of all propositions, that such a measure was, as necessary to the safety of the victors, fully resolved upon*.

* Rush. vol. vi. chap. x. and xi. Whitelocke, p. 206, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 30, *et seq.* Baillie's Let. vol. ii. p. 206, *et seq.* These letters are remarkable for the light they throw on the state of parties. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 463, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 174, *et seq.* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 94, *et seq.* Clar. Papers, vol. ii. p. 242, *et seq.* Append. to Evelyn's Mem. p. 118, *et seq.* No wonder Charles was anxious about burning his cabinet after the discovery by the former. Burnet's Mem. of the Hamiltons, p. 277, *et seq.* See particularly, p. 310-11. Charles told the Scottish commissioners,

It is said that, when the intention of the Scots to deliver him up was communicated to Charles, he was engaged in a game of chess ; and that, such was the native composure of his mind, he continued it, unruffled by the intelligence. It has been well remarked of him, that, like his progenitors, he appeared to most advantage in adversity, which we may remark, in passing, is far more easily borne than prosperity ; but the anecdote is not entitled to much credit, and the intelligence could not be very unexpected. Long had he been warned of the event ; and his hope of a different issue had been founded entirely on the prospects held out by the Hamiltons, of raising a party in Scotland, which, contrary to all their former principles, should attempt his unconditional restoration. Without that, he was not only not averse to change his keepers, but really desired it, as he flattered himself that he might obtain that success with the English officers which he was inflexibly denied by the Scots, whose interest indeed accorded with their principles. He was conducted to Holdenby, where he continued a considerable time *.

“ That if he were a prisoner, it was the opinion of many divines, that the promises made by a prisoner did not oblige, though he did not assert that to be his own sense.” But he did not deny it to be so. Such was the use he made of divinity. “ The king,” says Baillie, in a letter dated 1st December, 1646, “ *all his life has loved trinketing naturally*, and is thought to be much in that action now with all parties, for the imminent hazard of all.” Vol. ii. p. 245. Yet the imputation of insincerity, according to Hume, was of a later growth than his own age ! See Scots Acts, lately published, vol. vi. p. 239. Declaration concerning the king’s person. Hailes’ Let. p. 185, *et seq.*

* Burnet’s Mem. of the Hamiltons, p. 307. Hailes’ Let. p. 190-91.

During this summer (1646) an ordinance was ^{Episcopacy abolished by ordinance, &c. 6th Sept. 1646.} passed for abolishing Episcopacy, and sequestering the lands of the church for the use of the state, and the beneficed clergy were thus deprived of their livings. The impeachment of the bishops had been allowed to drop, but in this measure they suffered the punishment. Whatever the bigoted, whether in religion or politics, may think, it surely cannot fairly be questioned, that when a political change deprives a body of men of their livings, they are entitled to compensation; and the English parliament cannot be justified in departing from such a project which had formerly been contemplated. But, on the other hand, the high clergy, though some of them were men of profound erudition and great capacity, did not merit much sympathy, since they had been at least accessory to the innovations that had led to the change under which they smarted, and since the inferior clergy had been mercilessly driven by them from their livings, because they would not comply with audacious novelties *.

* Old. Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 158. Cob. vol. iii. p. 528. Rush. vol. vi. p. 373, *et seq.*

CHAP. XI.

State of the Army and Mutiny.—The King seized by Joyce.—The Army brought up to London,—and the Effect on the Parliament.—The King flies to the Isle of Wight.—Second Civil War and Invasion from Scotland.—The Treaty of Newport.—The Invaders from Scotland overcome, and the Civil War terminated.—King seized a second time by the Army.—The House of Commons purged.—The King's Trial and Execution.

HAD the parliament been united in interest and principles, and been still supported by the people, they could not have had much cause to fear from the army they had raised; but as it was divided into factions, while each regarded the military as the instrument of ascendancy in the state, intrigues were engendered in the army, and its ruin attempted by one party, as well as the great body encouraged by the other. Cromwell, Vane, and their party, had now gained the ascendancy; and Hollis, with his party, irritated at success which had been so fatal to their own ambition, determined to break the army. But, as another must

have been necessary under existing circumstances, we may safely conclude, that the object was merely to recover the sword into their own hands, and by new arrangements crush their opponents. Their violence and injustice, particularly of Hollis, exposed their scheme to unavoidable failure. The principle on which they proposed to reduce the army—that there was no occasion for a military force now that the war was closed, was palpably uncandid. The king's adherents were ready on the first opportunity to take the field. Without regularly embodying and exercising the train bands throughout the country, till they were reduced to perfect order, the dissolution of the military could only give rise to a new war, to the most imminent hazard of the parliament. It was evident, therefore, that the object was merely to disgrace and dissolve the present army that they might raise another. But it may appear so extraordinary that the independent party, which had been so successful, should now be outvoted in the two houses, after the success that had procured them the support of the people, that it will be necessary in this place to explain the cause. We may easily conclude, that many who had voted for the new model, out of fear that the royalists would otherwise prevail in the struggle, were not now unwilling to see a fresh change in the military establishment. But this would not have been sufficient to counterbalance the increasing weight of Vane, Cromwell, and their friends. The real cause was, the addition of a great number of new members. Of these,

many, no doubt, supported the independent party ; but, as in the western districts, from the state of property, a limited number of individuals led the country, and were devoted to the royal interest, so now, from the same causes, that quarter returned members who, though hostile to both parties, yet threw their weight into the presbyterian scale as the lightest, and the number particularly from Cornwall being great, they enabled the presbyterians in the lower house to carry the measures against the army, contrary to the wishes of the community. Many peers too were allowed to compound with two years rent for their pardon, and having resumed their seats, gave their preponderance also in the upper house ; but the majority of both houses forgot that they were not in a situation to pay up the arrears of the army, and the resentment of Hollis seems not to have been averse to the injustice. Upwards of twelve months' pay was due, and it was proposed to allow only that of seven weeks, and reserve the remainder to be settled after their disbanding. The soldiers, who probably believed that the object was to preserve funds for the payment of another army, naturally conceived this to be gross injustice : they could not be ignorant of the difficulties with which individuals should contend for wages, after having laid down arms ; and as an act of indemnity was refused, they saw themselves exposed to prosecution from the civil power for what they had performed as soldiers : but it was intended to send a large proportion of them for the reduction of Ire-

Disagree-
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and army.

land, and they objected to the service unless they saw a disposition to grant the proper encouragement. They alleged that they had not entered into the service of the state as mere mercenaries, but as citizens, not only deeply interested in the safety of the commonwealth, but zealously determined to defend it; and that, had they been pure mercenaries, yet that which the service demanded could not properly exceed the original terms, which were understood to be limited to the English war. They, however, declared their readiness to embark, provided their arrears were paid, disclaiming all thoughts of mutiny; but representing strongly that it would be hard indeed, if, after having served the public so successfully, they should be sent back to those trades which they had renounced for the common good, not only without reward, but even without the ordinary wages, to which, as mercenaries, they were fully entitled. They petitioned also for relief to orphans, widows, and the maimed. Their feelings were the more strongly excited by the suggestion, that some in civil offices had accumulated large fortunes, and even by a suspicion that the party in parliament hostile to them, purposely withheld their pay, that, by obliging them to live at free quarters, they might render them generally odious to the community, so that all classes might unite in calling for the disbanding.

When the petition in which they represented their grievances was presented, Hollis, who had long before laid his plans for dissolving this army, that he

and his party might recover command of the sword, hastily drew up on his knee a resolution, which, at a late hour, and when the house was thin, he procured the adoption of—that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and the vote brought with it the evil which it was pretendedly calculated to avoid. The soldiers lamented that this rash vote deprived them of their rights as citizens, merely because they had saved the republic by their valour as soldiers, and a deeper spirit of discontent rapidly spread through the ranks. That it is ever dangerous for soldiers to interfere with the civil power, is an indisputable principle; but before parliament had resolved to proceed with rigour against the army, it ought to have satisfied the just demands of the military*.

Certain commissioners,—Dacres, Sir William Waller, General Massey, and Sir John Clotworthy, were sent by both houses to the army, to make propositions for the Irish war; and the army, on its part, appointed deputies to transact for them. The deputies having alluded to their grievances, which the commissioners assured them, either had been, or would be, redressed, next adverted to the officers under whom they were to serve in Ireland; intimating that they desired such as they could confide in for talent. The commissioners answer-

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 185, *et seq.* Hutchison, vol. ii. p. 97, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 42, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 243, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vi. chap. xiii. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 560, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 257. Berkeley's Mem. p. 11. *et seq.*

ed, that both houses had fixed on General Skippon as Commander-in-chief, and the army seemed satisfied with him ; but they remarked, that if the other general officers whom they were attached to—meaning Fairfax and Cromwell, were appointed, they would all go to a man. It would appear that a great portion of the army engaged in this service, but that several of the chief officers were active in preventing such a dismemberment of the military force, while certain deputies presented to the parliament a vindication from the late charge of being enemies to the state, declaring that they saw designs entertained against them, and many of the godly part of the kingdom. Eight hundred and upwards of one regiment consented to go upon the expedition, and an ordinance of indemnity against civil actions, at the instance of many who wished to ruin them whom they could not overthrow in the field, was passed. Others followed the example, and a negotiation was going on with the rest, whom it was resolved to disband, if they obstinately declined the service. Had any of the distempers been confined to the army, it is evident from this that they might have been easily quashed ; and indeed it could not be supposed that a military body, so limited in number, could have ventured to cut themselves off from the other classes of the community, without any proper head or civil government ; and, had they done so, they must have been quickly reduced ; but as the two parties in the state, of presbyterians and independents, were nearly balanced, and each had regarded the

military force as subservient to its own ascendancy, it was not likely that the independents were to yield to the sinister motions of their adversaries. In every case of this kind, there will always be a numerous body, who, not entering into the views of either party, but steering a middle course, occasionally throw their strength into the one scale, and then into the other, and at this time there might be many of this description. By a narrow majority had the self-denying ordinance, or the new model, been carried ; and it would not have been strange that, jealous of an army which had been so victorious under leaders of so determined a character as Cromwell, they should have desired a succession of commanders, and consequently the dismemberment of this army, whose victories had given them confidence and union, and the appointment of a new body of military which, though inferior in discipline, would, now that the king's forces were disorganized, be sufficiently qualified to keep down fresh insurrections, while the men, lately drawn from their civil employments, would not acquire the habits necessarily engendered by such a brilliant career. But, on the other hand, success had, with the nation at large, and even with a great portion of the parliament, given such a character to the independents, that, as has been said, we must account for their being outvoted, to the great accession of new members, from the west particularly, who joined the presbyterians, to overpower a party that had overcome them in war. The return of peers, on paying a composition,

produced a similar effect in the upper house; but the country in general supported the independents, who,—as they perceived that the object of the presbyterians was their ruin, and that they would, after the dissolution of this army, and the levying of another, be enabled, by coalescing with the Scots, to bear down all opposition,—set every engine to work to stir up the army to second their views. The military, therefore, thus encouraged, regularly appointed from every troop deputies, or, as they were called, adjutators, (a word which has been converted into agitators,) and were prepared to capitulate in an organized, and consequently a most dangerous form. Ireton was understood to be the man employed to embody the complaints in writing, and the papers do credit to his talents. The fanaticism ascribed to the soldiery no where appears in these productions; and it is extraordinary that the military do not object to the presbyterian establishment, but merely to the intolerance which accompanied it. With a limited presbytery they would have been satisfied; but this did not suit the ambitious views of the opposite party; and it is not unlikely that many urged on the distinction between ecclesiastics, in order to render the difference irreconcilable. The most implacable enemy to the independents was Hollis, who soon forgot, in discomfiture, the views he set out with, while he stood near the head of the triumphant party.

Some remarks which fell from Cromwell at this time were afterwards supposed to indicate the

views of aggrandizement which he subsequently realized. He observed to Ludlow how unfortunate it was for them to serve a parliament or public body, as the strictest integrity no more secured them from obloquy, than the most meritorious service gained them reward ; but that a general could at once both appreciate and reward merit. When too, one of the petitions from the army arrived, and produced great dissatisfaction in the house, he remarked, "these fellows will never be quiet till the soldiers pull them out by the ears."—What with his interest in parliament, and the great abilities of Ireton, joined to his own, he had, in this troubled period, when Ireton had become the organ of the soldiers, obtained an ascendancy beyond that of Fairfax himself ; but it does not appear that the latter ever objected to the measures, and the documents under his own hand distinctly establish that, whatever might be his sentiments afterwards, they at this time did not fall short of those of Cromwell. Though that individual, however, might possibly now begin to entertain very ambitious views, yet the construction afterwards put on insulated remarks was probably erroneous, and a man of integrity, in calling to mind past occurrences, may, in his anxiety to discover some proofs of a latent purpose, allow his prepossessions to give a turn to words which they would not have borne, and even unconsciously to modify the words themselves. Most certain it is, that neither the statesmen who acted with him, nor the very officers who were engaged

in the present business suspected his designs. It is alleged, too, by the presbyterian party, that he affected the utmost grief and indignation at the present proceedings of the military ; but he appears to have, at this time, steadily adhered to his party, indeed he could not otherwise have kept his ground,—and his party were averse to the disbanding, which was intended to transfer the sword to the presbyterians. At the same time it is not unlikely that he both expressed and felt indignation at the first symptoms of mutiny : he might even expect to be sent to Ireland ; but as the rash and violent proceedings, instigated by Hollis, roused the soldiery and their supporters, so a fresh plot against Cromwell himself, necessarily taught both him and his party, that they had no security but in preserving the army. Hollis and the presbyterian party, who had long aimed at his destruction, secretly concerted, before the appointment of adjutators, to send him to the Tower, on a general charge of instigating the troops to mutiny, though without the knowledge of any particular fact which could justify such a measure,—in order that they might the more easily break the army during his confinement ; and he having received intelligence of it, immediately departed for the camp, when his enemies forbore to shew an intention which they could not execute.

Thus matters proceeded, and an order was issued to disband the army, allowing eight weeks' pay instead of fifty, which was due ; but the soldiery were, at the same time, charged with an intention

of conspiring with the king; and certain intercepted letters to him from Asburnham seemed to confirm the idea: that individual also advised his majesty not to close with the parliament at this juncture; for, that as peace had been concluded between France and Spain, leisure would be afforded to foreign states to pour in 50,000 troops for the recovery of his throne *.

When the mutinous state of the army became terrible to the parliament, and particularly to the presbyterian party, a proposal was made by Massey to raise another army immediately, in order to disband the present troops by force; while petitions from various quarters for an immediate accommodation with the king were encouraged. Each party now evidently hoped, by a coalition with the monarch, to obtain ascendancy in the state; and as the military believed that, unless they prevented it by a decisive step, they should see him at the head of a fresh army, through a coalition between him, the cavaliers, and the presbyterians, they formed the resolution of frustrating such a purpose, by taking possession of his person. According to

Joyce seizes upon the King's person, and carries him to the army, 3d June, 1647.

this resolution, Cornet Joyce, with a party of 500, proceeded to Holdenby house and demanded his majesty from the commissioners. They, amazed at the demand, asked by whose authority it was made? Joyce, and his brother officers, replied, by the army, and insisted on being admitted to Charles. Access

* Rush. vol. vi. ch. xiii. Hollis' Memoirs. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 42, *et seq.* Ludlow, Hutchison, Whitelocke, p. 248.

having been allowed, his majesty put the same question, and received a similar answer. He obtained an assurance, however, of personal protection, and then retired to rest. Next morning the king again demanded by what authority he was to be carried away; asking, at the same time, for Joyce's commission? Joyce pointed to his soldiers, and told him these were his commission; Charles smilingly remarked, "that it was as well a written one as he had ever beheld—a company of handsome proper gentlemen as he had seen a great while." Accompanied by the commissioners, he then proceeded to the army. The military excused themselves for this act, by alleging that they had received intimation of a design to surprise the king, and declaring that they could not be contented with the payment of arrears, unless they were assured that their present enemies should not be their future judges. In the meantime, a guard was put upon Charles by Col. Whaley, for the purpose, as it was said, of preventing a new war*.

The city of London having begun to raise a force for the purpose of opposing the army, the latter determined to march towards the metropolis; and a long petition, which struck directly at the authority of both houses, was presented from Fairfax and his soldiers, to purge the parliament.

Matters had now arrived at such a crisis, that the army, supported by a great proportion of the

* Rush, vol. vi. p. 503, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 250, *et seq.* Berkeley, p. 11—13.

community, began regularly to dictate to parliament in affairs of government—as that the representation should be more equal; the present parliament quickly determined, and another appointed, while a biennial law should be passed to secure a frequent change. They also insisted that the lower house should be purged of those malignant members who had opposed the parliament during the late war; and they brought a charge against eleven members, of an attempt to overthrow the rights of the people, and for that purpose unjustly to break the present army, and raise a fresh one.

Charge by
the army
against the
eleven
members.

These were Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols. On the other hand, the presbyterian party mustered all their force; and as the common council of London supported them, matters seemed to tend to a second war.

The proceedings of the army had been conducted with uncommon ability; and their moderation, in so far as moderation was compatible with their interference at all, was remarkable. Their professions for public liberty, too, were great, and while their friends were numerous in all quarters, several counties, as Bucks, openly declared their approbation of their conduct. They, therefore, advanced to St. Albans with a manifestation to approach to London itself; and though some of the impeached members were for meeting the issue, yet as the rest insisted they should all retire, they complied. Far from attempting further opposition, the parliament proposed an act of oblivion; and the common council,

abandoning their measures, addressed them in the character of arbitrators in the state. The new levies were laid aside, and fresh commissioners were sent to treat. By an ordinance of 4th May, the militia of London had been transferred from the independent party, of whom the late lord mayor was one; but it was now restored to the former commissioners. Having been thus gratified, the army obeyed an order not to advance further. But soon after, tumults were fomented, and a large body of the seditious having entered the lower house, forced it to vote at their pleasure. The members of the independent party now conceived themselves no longer safe; and the speakers of both houses, attended with nineteen members of the higher, and a hundred of the lower, went to the army at Hounslow-heath to demand its protection. The military rent the air with acclamations, and gave to this body the respect due to both houses of parliament.

Tumults force a great party, with the speakers, to leave the houses of parliament, and take refuge in the army. 26th July, 1647.

The members who had not seceded now met in either house, conceiving that this was the time to carry those measures in which they had hitherto been frustrated by the independent party. Mr. Pelham was elected speaker of the lower house; Lord Willoughby of the upper. The eleven members were recalled; and with little opposition was it voted, that the king should come to his parliament with honour, freedom, and safety; and that the order which had passed on the 24th for putting all land forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax, gave him no power over the trained-bands or garrisons. They ap-

Proceedings in their absence.

pointed a committee of safety, in which were included the eleven members, with powers to grant commissions to commanders of horse and foot. They voted that the commanders of the city militia should be empowered to punish all who did not repair to their colours, and that the master and assistant of the trinity-house should arm all the seamen whom they could find. Massey was appointed general, and he immediately summoned all the reformadoes, &c. then fit for the occasion, measures having been taken to form them into regiments. Disposed to carry his new commission to its utmost height, he immediately attacked the inhabitants of Southwark, who petitioned to be put under separate command, as well as others who petitioned for composing matters, and wounded and killed several. But this tumult was short-lived: the army marched to the city, and resistance was abandoned. The common-council likewise sent a message to Fairfax, that, as they understood the object was to restore the secluded members, they were ready to concur in the measure. The general answered, that a declaration lately published, wherein the soldiers were charged as the authors of the present confusion, should be recalled; that the impeached members should be deserted, and the militia relinquished; that the forts and line of communication, and other forts, should be delivered up: that the new forces should be disbanded, and the other works demolished; that the guard should be withdrawn from the parliament, and such a guard of horse and foot as he thought proper to appoint be re-

The army
marches to
London and
restores the
members,
&c. 6th
Aug. 1647.

ceived within the lines; and, lastly, that his army should be allowed to march through the city without interruption. These demands were not to be resisted; and such was the excellent discipline of the army, that in its march through the city it did not offer an insult to an individual.

The two speakers, and the seceding members, were conducted with great pomp to Westminster, where they resumed their seats. Measures of a very opposite nature from those lately adopted were now taken. The proceedings of the army were ratified, and Fairfax appointed generalissimo, with power to place and displace officers at discretion, as well as to annihilate the London militia. But matters did not terminate there. He was nominated constable of the tower, with authority to name his deputies; and empowered to appoint a guard for the parliament. Thus, in their anxiety to escape from one evil, did the two houses expose themselves to another. Fairfax was invited to receive the thanks of both houses; a committee was enjoined to discover the persons concerned in the late tumults, and the promoters of the association declared against by the house on the 24th of July. They were likewise instructed to inquire who had raised any force in maintenance of that engagement. All reformed soldiers and officers were commanded to depart from London, and ordered not to come within twenty miles of the town. The 12th of August was ordained to be kept as a thanksgiving day for re-

storing the members without the effusion of blood, and a month's pay given to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, as a gratuity for their meritorious services. Acts of indemnity were passed in favour of Southwark, and the forces in Hertfordshire and Kent; while thanks for joining Sir Thomas Fairfax's army were bestowed upon them. On the other hand, Sir John Maynard, and Sir J. Glyn, were dismissed the lower house for being accessory to bringing the restraint upon it. Sir John Gayre, the lord mayor, one of the sheriffs, and four aldermen, were committed to the tower, on a charge of high treason, while impeachments for levying war upon the kingdom were also voted against the Earls of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Lincoln, and lords Willoughby of Parham, and Huttinton*.

King's negotiations.

During this time the king was not idle; and could he have only been steady to any one principle, with a resolution to make certain concessions, he might have succeeded in recovering a considerable share of power. Far from wishing to suppress monarchy at this juncture, the army would have restored him on better terms than the presbyterians. The utmost personal respect was paid to him; he was allowed to indulge himself in the English ritual, which was so strongly de-

* Cobbet's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 724, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 380, *et seq.* xvi. p. 70, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 240, *et seq.* 260, *et seq.* In page 248, the reader will find the motives of Hollis and his friends fully developed, and also the line of policy pursued by Cromwell and his friends. Rush. vol. vii. p. 738, *et seq.*

nied before; instead of the seclusion under which he was obliged to live in the Scottish army, he enjoyed at all times the free access of his friends, while the independent party also recommended great moderation towards the royalists*, and every regard to the king's pretensions which was compatible with general liberty. Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham, who had been dispatched by the queen to promote a firm union with the army, not only returned to the king, but resided constantly with him. As the negotiations proceeded, proposals to the following effect were drawn by Ireton, to be laid before the king for his approval, previously to their being transmitted to parliament:—That there should be a law for biennial parliaments, or, in other words, for summoning a parliament every second year; and that, after it had sat fourteen days, it should be adjournable or dissoluble at the royal pleasure; but that a better appropriation of members to the numbers of the community should be adopted, and the freedom of elections fully provided for: that a council of state should be immediately appointed for such a term,

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 192, *et seq.* Berkeley's Mem. p. 3, *et seq.* Hutchinson's Mem. vol. ii. p. 112. Herbert, p. 25, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 50. Though a guard was put upon Charles, the reader must not suppose that he ever was, either at Newcastle, Holdenby, or now, confined to any house. He was not only allowed the various amusements and exercises of bowling and the like, but rode about at his pleasure, while the guard kept at a respectful distance. "Sir Robert Pyé, a colonel in the army, now supplied the place of equerry, riding bare before him whenever he rode abroad." Lud. vol. i. p. 193. He hunted too. Whitelocke, p. 267.

not exceeding seven years, as should be agreed upon; and that during their appointment, the members should not be removable except for malversation : that the king might, authorized by the advice of his council, summon a parliament betwixt the biennial parliaments, provided it did not disturb the course of biennial elections ; but that the biennial parliaments were to appoint committees, which should manage such business as might be committed by one parliament, at its rising, till the assembling of another. These proposals also vindicated the house of commons from any proceedings against them by the peers, and provided perfect immunity from any censure for what passed in the house : there was a provision, too, regarding the judicial power of the houses, and that no pardon, after judgment, should be granted by the king without the consent of parliament. It was provided also, that grand jurymen should be appointed according to a division of the counties, instead of being eligible at the discretion of undersheriffs : That the militia, with the power of raising money for its support, and every thing regarding it, should be under the power of parliament for ten years, and that, in the meantime, a sufficient fund for the support of the present establishment should be provided, and commanders be immediately nominated : that the great officers of state should be nominated by the first biennial parliament, and should continue under the nomination of parliaments for the next ten years, after which, on any vacancy, three should be named, of whom his ma-

jesty should choose one. But it was particularly provided, that none of the cavaliers, or such as had borne arms against the parliament, should be eligible for five years: that all declarations against the parliamentary party should be recalled; and that grants of peerage, since May, 1642, should be made void, while no peer should be thereafter created without the consent of both houses. The ordinance for taking away wards was to be confirmed; the cessation with Ireland declared null; and the prosecution of the war transferred to both houses. All coercive power and jurisdiction were to be withdrawn from the ecclesiastical courts, as well as the authority of bishops; and ministers paid by a mode less oppressive than by tithes. But episcopal government did not seem to be altogether objected to, and it was provided that the covenant should not be enforced. There were some minor provisions stipulated for; but the number of persons excepted from pardon was reduced to seven, unnamed, and that more with a desire to imply the justice of the cause, than to inflict punishment on their opponents*.

These propositions were much milder than those which had been tendered to Charles before the commencement of the war; when Denzil Hollis, who now denounced the independent party as anti-monarchical, as levellers of ranks, and subverters

* Berkeley's Mem. p. 32, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vii. p. 731, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 210, *et seq.* Cobbet's, vol. iii. p. 737, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 269.

of every constitutional principle, was not only active in promoting the harshest terms, but declared that he abhorred the very word accommodation. Never, it has been well remarked, were terms so mild proposed to a conquered prince, and (though it is easy to conceive that the military commanders might abuse their trust) nothing short of them could have secured the safety of those who so lately opposed him *.

But, far from yielding to these terms, Charles only meditated a fresh war upon his people. Different parties courted him, and he flattered himself always that, while he ran no risk either in his person or regal dignity, he might, with the assistance of one, subdue the rest, and rise on the wreck of all. The presbyterians, dreadfully alarmed, that peace should be concluded by any party but themselves, were busily intriguing with him, and the Scottish commissioners, to gain him, secured him great assistance. And, at this time, when Clarendon, was laid the foundation of the famous engagement †. The Marquis of Montrose, having visited England by the permission of parliament, and obtained access to the king, undertook to engage the catholics of Ireland. Lord Capel was instructed by Charles, that in the event of war, it was probable between England and Scotland, that he must be on the watch to raise the royal standard in vindication of that pure unmixed cause.

* Berkeley's Mem. p. 29—32.

† Clar. vol. v. p.

hostilities had been first commenced *. His prospects seemed now better than ever : the army itself was ready to fall into pieces ; but his own multiplied intrigues lost all.

Charles himself, finding that he was courted by all parties, and being misled on the one hand by the suggestions of Ashburnham, and on the other, by the representations of the presbyterians, who, alleging that they could soon break the army, pretended to despise it, not only rejected the proposals, but personally offended the officers. In vain had Berkeley urged that never was a crown so near lost offered to be restored on such easy terms ; that with regard to the exception from pardon of seven unnamed individuals, it ought not to form an objection, since his majesty could at least make their situation comfortable beyond seas ; and that he ought to esteem it an important matter, that the army had not positively insisted on the abolition of episcopacy, since the late ordinance, unratified by him on a conclusion of the treaty, would fall, and the old law of itself restore the hierarchy.

When the proposals were formally tendered to him for his approbation, before they were transmitted to parliament, he, not only to the amazement of Ireton and the rest, but even of Berkeley, to whom we are indebted for the information, " entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses," saying that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, as he repented of nothing so much as of his

* Clar. vol. v. p. 71, 72.

consent to the bill against Strafforde, and that he must have a special article in favour of episcopacy, or of the church as it had been established by law. With the first they were sufficiently displeased, and as for the latter, they answered that it was not their province to propose the re-establishment of the hierarchy; that it was enough for them to wave that point, and they hoped it was enough for his majesty, who had waved it in Scotland. He replied, that "he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and *repeated often*, you cannot do without me, you fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." They looked with astonishment on Ashburnham and Berkeley, and the latter, as much as he durst, on the king, to check this imprudent conduct; but the infatuated prince would take no notice of it, "until," says Berkeley, "I was forced to step up to him and whisper in his ear, Sir, your majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of, and since your majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it also from those men too." Charles then changed his tone; but it was too late; Rainsborough and others, who were the coldest in the negotiation, stole away from the meeting, and inflamed the army with the intelligence. "Sir," said Ireton to him on another occasion, "you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament." The king afterwards remarked, "I shall play my game as well as I can." The other

replied, "If your majesty have a *game* to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours."

It is extraordinary that no experience could teach Charles and his advisers the great truth, that the leaders of a party are merely the organs for expressing its sentiments. But the mistake is the less to be admired in them, from the general adoption of it by historians. Ashburnham refused to treat with the adjutators, calling them senseless fellows, and declaring it as his opinion that, provided the leaders were gained, the army must follow*.

Hollis and his friends, whose eagerness to crush Cromwell previous to the self-denying ordinance, had obliged him to push on a change in the military establishment with the utmost resolution, again fell into the same fault. Imagining that, could they sever him from the army, they might easily reduce it, and consequently overwhelm him, they secretly concerted to send him, by a vote of the house, to the Tower, upon a general charge of exciting mutiny in the army†: and it is rather amusing to observe the language of Hollis, in regard to the general charge against himself at the instance of the army, when he would have thus proceeded against Cromwell, without proof of any particular which could warrant the measure. Finding that, in the present posture of the lower house, he had no security there, Cromwell secretly went to the army, which he most heartily joined for his

* Berkeley's Mem. p. 14. 29, *et seq.*

† Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 195, *et seq.* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 111.

own safety. To save themselves and their party, Ireton and he were exceedingly anxious for accommodation with the king, though at first even the military doubted that, from their cautious proceedings, they were not sincere; and never had the misguided monarch a better opportunity to recover his throne; but, as nothing short of unconditional restoration to power would satisfy him, he soon perceived that they were unapt instruments for such a project. He had no confidence either in them or the other officers, except Major Huntingdon, who had been a creature of Cromwell's, because they shewed a backwardness in accepting of favours from him*, and was displeased that though Fairfax kissed his hand, neither Cromwell nor Ireton, whose carriage was respectful, but distant, seemed disposed to that mark of loyalty†. Yet, as they still negociated with him, after the disgust taken by Rainsborough and his friends, and earnestly, as members of the commons‡, urged the house to accede to the monarch's desire of a personal treaty on the proposals of the army, after he had rejected the propositions of parliament, they fell under a violent suspicion of a design to compromise the general cause for their own selfish ends. The famous John Lilburn, now lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, having been committed to

* This, which rests on the authority of Berkeley, appears to me decisive; and we may easily judge what credit is due to the charge of Huntingdon against Cromwell, and his statement after the restoration. Berkeley, p. 17.

† Clar. vol. v. p. 52.

‡ The reader need scarcely be reminded, that Cromwell returned freely to parliament after the army removed his enemies.

Newgate for publishing a seditious book, was confined in the same cell with Sir Lewis Dives, the brother-in-law of Digby, who, conceiving it to be for the king's advantage to sever Cromwell from both parliament and army, zealously infused into the mind of his fellow-prisoner suspicions of his having been bought over, as if he had received his intelligence from his friends about the king ;—and Lilburn daily published pamphlets on the subject. As nothing could be more fatal to the ambitious hopes of the presbyterians than an agreement between the king and the army, they most eagerly inculcated the charge ; and Cromwell himself told Berkeley that he had traced a story to the Countess of Carlisle, a presbyterian—that he had been promised the vacant title of Earl of Essex, and the post of commander of the guard ; and that her ladyship had alleged she had received her intelligence from Berkeley himself. By Berkeley we are assured of the groundlessness of the story ; but it answered the full object of the inventors, in inflaming the public mind against Cromwell, and also against his son-in-law, Ireton, who was likewise alleged to have been bribed, by a promise of the lieutenancy of Ireland.

While they had thus fallen under a general suspicion of betraying the cause, they discovered that Charles was himself intriguing for their destruction, as well as to involve the nation again in blood. “ Cromwell himself,” says Clarendon, “ expostulated with Ashburnham, that *the king could not be trusted*, that he had no affection and confidence

in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; and that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the presbyterians in the city to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation again in blood, and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss*.” It is remarkable that Clarendon, far from denying this charge against his master, confirms it by his own relation of affairs.

Mutiny in
the army.

In the meantime, the suspicion against Cromwell and Ireton, who had been a little before accused of slowness by the army, was now so violent, and the indignation of the soldiers at the king's intrigues so great, that a spirit of mutiny, and desire of a republican form of government, rapidly spread through the ranks; and part conceived the idea of carrying through their designs without either

* That Cromwell and Ireton, as well as Fairfax, seriously desired accommodation, till they saw through the king's treachery, cannot, I think, be doubted: but I conceive that it is sufficiently clear, from this and other matters, that Cromwell was true to his principles at this time; and that Mrs. Hutchinson's account, that he would not stoop to dissimulation at this juncture, is quite correct. Even Berkeley informs us, that the story of the earldom was an invention. Indeed the parliament had passed an ordinance for making him a baron, with L.2,500 a year; while Fairfax's father was to be created an earl. Clarendon's testimony is in unison with Berkeley's in this respect. Denzil Hollis only refers in support of his to an anonymous pamphlet, and probably the production of Lilburn, who was purposely mislead by Dives. Berkeley, p.39, *et seq.* Baillie the divine writes on 13th July, 1647, to his kinsman, that “no human hope remained, but in the king's unparalleled wilfulness, and the army's unmeasurable pride,” vol. vi. p. 255. *Clar.* vol. v. p. 75, 76. *Whitelocke*, p. 258.

king or parliament. These were called levellers; but though their enemies industriously tried to impute the absurd project of equalizing property, all that they ever proposed was to withdraw the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy, particularly in legal proceedings. They, however, desired, as an inherent right of the people, that the parliament should end in September next, and the first biennial parliament begin: That the representatives of the people, whose power should only be subordinate to that of their constituents, should be equally chosen according to a fair arrangement of the population; and have full authority in all matters of legislation, peace and war; but that they should have no power over the consciences of men, or to impress any individual into the service of the state. Whatever, in the abstract, might be said of the propositions thus drawn down, either in whole or in part, the mode in which that portion of the army which entertained them, was disposed to act, threatened that ruin to the army which Charles had relied upon. By a coalition with the king, the army might, acting with a party in parliament, have forced the remainder into compliance, as, by the support of the parliament, they could subdue the king; but the idea of standing alone, without the support of either, or even of any considerable portion of the people, could not fail to prove fatal. Besides this, however, the greater part of the army, though it might be poisoned with the notion of Cromwell and Ireton's treachery, was disposed to adhere to the parliament;

and, therefore, the other portion, had the soldiers concurred with the adjutators, which, generally speaking, they did not, (for the adjutators spoke their own language rather than that of their constituents,) must soon have been obliged to succumb. The madness, too, with which Lilburn's regiment had proceeded, prognosticated general dissolution. The soldiers had driven away all their officers above a lieutenant, excepting a Captain-Lieutenant Bray.—This insurrection dreadfully alarmed Cromwell and his party, who perceived the ruin with which it was pregnant; and he, who had the greatest reason to suppress it, as it had arisen from a jealousy of himself, went down at the desire of the commons to quell it. The general (Fairfax) and his council of officers, ordered a rendezvous of a division of the army between Hertford and Ware; the regiments ordered were, of horse, the general's, Colonel Fleetwood's, Colonel Rich's, and Colonel Twisleton's—of foot, the general's, Colonel Hammond's, and Colonel Pride's. But, besides these, there appeared, contrary to orders, but by the seduction of the adjutators, Colonel Harrison's and Colonel Lilburn's.

Mutiny
quelled at
the rendez-
vous.

When Fairfax and his staff entered the field, they observed Colonel Eyre and Major Scott to be extremely busy in stirring up the soldiers against the general. But he having “expressed himself very gallantly at the head of every regiment, to live and die with them *for those particulars which were contained in a remonstrance read to every regiment*—they, notwithstanding the endeavours of

Major Scott and others to animate the soldiers to stand to a paper, called the agreement of the people; generally, by many acclamations, declared their affections, and resolutions to adhere to the general; and as many as could, in a short time they had allowed, signed an agreement drawn up for that purpose, concerning their being ready from time to time to observe such orders as they should receive from the general and council of the army." Eyre and Scott were then committed; and the latter, as a member of the commons, sent up to parliament: some inferior persons were also apprehended. But what had yet been done, appears to have regarded the regiments summoned to the rendezvous; and it was necessary to subdue the other two, of which each soldier had a motto in his hat, "England's freedom, and Soldiers' rights." Harrison's, after a stern rebuke by the general, owned their fault, tore the mottoes, and, with the rest, declared their resolution to adhere to him. The majority of Lilburn's, which had driven away their officers, also testified their contrition, and followed the example set them by the other; but a few refused compliance, and as an example in a regiment so mutinous was wished, three of them were pulled from the ranks, (no difficult matter, when all the other regiments had come under such an engagement, and the majority of this had followed the example,) and having been tried by court-martial in the field, were condemned to be shot. As an example, however, was at this time deemed sufficient, the three cast lots, and the in-

dividual on whom it fell to suffer, was instantly shot at the head of the regiment. Several others were afterwards secured for trial to enforce greater awe*.

Charles was extremely anxious to await the result of this rendezvous, expecting that, in the general confusion, he might be joined by one party; but, when he found his intrigues all detected, and, in consequence, his followers restrained, and additional guards put upon himself, he determined to effect his escape—a proceeding which had been earnestly recommended by some of his advisers—that he might be ready to set himself at the head of the Scots, the Irish auxiliaries, and the cavaliers whom he expected to rise in England. But it was a matter of deep consideration whither he was to proceed in the mean time. The Scottish commissioners had indeed made him promises, which, under certain circumstances, he confidently expected the fulfilment of; but he was perfectly aware that, however they might be disposed to restore him to power without any other condition but that of their own advancement, yet the great body of the

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 875, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 278. Cob. Par. Hist. vol. iii. p. 791. Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 333, *et seq.* The far-famed exploit of Cromwell, as recorded by Clarendon, whose misrepresentations on this subject are extremely gross, (vol. v. p. 87.) dwindles down to little, when the facts are stated; and it is rather amusing to observe the remarks of Laing on this subject. One would imagine from them, that the miraculous powers of Cromwell, who was not even general, could have forced the army not only against its own will, but in opposition to the commanders, the parliament, and all, into any thing.

people would, in the event of his taking sanctuary amongst them, immediately recur to the propositions which he had formerly refused, and which were infinitely harder than those which had been tendered to him by the army. His hope of Scotch assistance depended upon their hatred of the puritans, and their expectation of recovering more than their former influence in England; so that while the parties were mutually destroying each other, he might step in upon an exhausted country, and regain every thing he had lost. He even at one time thought of going to London; and a vessel, which, however, did not appear, is said to have been expected upon the coast to afford him an opportunity of either proceeding to Ireland to set himself at the head of the catholics, or of retiring to the continent till the factions in Britain were mutually exhausted. He at last, however, determined on taking refuge in the Isle of Wight. Having resolved upon flight, he ordered relays of horses, and, on the evening of the 11th of November 1647, escaped in company with Ashburnham and Legge. In passing through Windsor forest, in the evening, which was dark and tempestuous, they lost their way, and with difficulty recovered it; but having arrived next morning at the seat of the Earl of Southampton, Ashburnham and Berkeley, who had joined them, were dispatched to the Isle of Wight to intimate to Hammond the governor his majesty's resolution. Hammond was a confidant of Cromwell, having, through his interest, married the daughter of Hampden;

King
escapes from
Hampton-
Court, 11th
Nov. 1647.

and when the intelligence was communicated to him, his colour went, and a violent trembling shook his frame, while he exclaimed, in agony, "Oh, gentlemen, you have undone me in bringing the king into this island, if you have brought him; and if you have not, I pray let him not come; for what between my duty to him, and gratitude for this fresh obligation of confidence, and the discharge of my trust to the army, I shall be confounded." Berkeley, justly alarmed, wished to recede from their purpose while it was yet in their power; but Ashburnham, more sanguine, determined to persist; and they, therefore, endeavoured to prevail on Hammond to enter into an engagement; but he declined any thing more explicit than the following—"that he was subject to the command of his superiors, but that he believed the king relied upon him as a person of honour; and he engaged to conduct himself as such." Charles had himself instructed his two servants to insist upon an engagement not to deliver either himself or his attendants up to parliament; and Ashburnham and Berkeley ought instantly to have left Hammond, and returned to the king with the intelligence; but instead of this, they agreed to carry Hammond to him. When they returned to Charles, and told him what had passed, as well as that Hammond was in attendance, he struck his hand upon his breast, and exclaimed, "Oh, you have undone me: I am now made fast for ever." Ashburnham now perceiving his mistake, burst out into passionate, but vain lamentations, and proposed instantly

to assassinate Hammond, who had not come unattended with military force. But, upon this, the king put a decided negative, remarking, that "the world would say that he had trepanned and taken the life of a man who had come upon his invitation to do him service." Hammond was therefore admitted; but he would do no more than repeat his general engagement to act honourably in the discharge of his duty; and Charles accompanied him to the Isle of Wight.

The royal flight spread general consternation; and parliament immediately passed an ordinance threatening all, as traitors, with loss of life, and confiscation of goods, who harboured his person, without immediately revealing the circumstance to the two houses; commanding the dwellings of all who had been engaged in the late riots, or who had shewn hostility to the army, to be immediately searched, and all who had borne arms against the parliament to retire to the distance of twenty miles from London: and ordering, at the same time, all the ports to be shut. Letters from Hammond restored tranquillity; but a vote was immediately passed for confining the king's person in Carisbrook-castle *. Measures of the parliament on hearing of the king's escape, &c.

It was not the intention of Charles by his flight to break off correspondence with Fairfax, Crom-

* Berkeley's Mem. p. 48, *et seq.* Herbert, p. 36, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 77, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 214, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 324, *et seq.* Cobb. vol. iii. p. 785, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 278, 279. Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 117, 118. Rush. vol. vii. p. 871, *et seq.*

well, and Ireton, while he continued his negotiation with the Scottish commissioners, who were admitted to his presence. Sir John Berkeley was dispatched to the general and the other two, with letters from the king, and also from Hammond; but he soon perceived that nothing was to be expected from that quarter. Fairfax, in a full assembly of officers, told him, that it did not become them to decide on such a business; but that the letters should be transmitted to the parliament, to which matters of that kind exclusively belonged. Cromwell and Ireton likewise gave him a cold reception, and treated the letters from Hammond with contempt. Berkeley informs us, that he retired to his lodgings full of mortification; but about midnight he received notice from a general officer, probably Watson, the scoutmaster-general, that Cromwell and Ireton were reconciled with the army, through the mediation of the famous Hugh Peters; that all idea of accommodation with Charles was dropt; and that there was even an intention to bring the king to trial*.

* We shall not withhold the information Berkeley says he obtained, though there is every reason to believe either that he had been deceived, or that, as his *Memoirs* were drawn up for a purpose, he, whose faculty at invention was considerable, had embellished.—That the army was so indignant at the king, that a resolution was formed to bring him to trial, and that it was not even in Cromwell's power to save him; that, no doubt, at the late rendezvous, Cromwell had appeared triumphant, and that an opinion had thence been formed that the disaffection of the troops was quelled; but that this had entirely arisen from the decision with which Fairfax and he had acted, in taking the soldiers by surprise; that they themselves were

The intelligence received by Berkeley did not deter him from sending a message to Cromwell, requesting an interview, as he had particular letters and instructions for him; but Cromwell de-

not aware of the posture of things, as they imagined that the mutinous spirit was confined to a small portion; but that, as they had since discovered that two-thirds of the army were determined against a treaty with the king, Cromwell argued that the army would divide, when a portion would join with the presbyterians, which would prove his ruin; and that, as his only chance of recovering his influence and popularity was by yielding to the current, directing what he could not restrain, he immediately ordered the mutineers to be released from confinement; and, confessing that he had been misled by worldly views, declared that the Lord had now opened his eyes; and had, with the assistance of the famous Hugh Peters, made his peace. Herbert says, that his informer conjectured the motives of Cromwell! p. 69, *et seq.* That Cromwell could not act without the army, and therefore depended on his popularity with the troops, is an unquestionable truth; but he had also discovered the intrigues of the king for renewing the war; and it was fortunate for him that the spirit of the army having taken this turn, enabled him to act against the king on higher ground, when he discovered that it was impossible to bind him to conditions. The propositions drawn by Ireton had accorded with the feelings of the bulk of the military; and it is evident from Berkeley's own statement, that Cromwell had never agreed to any other. His character had indeed been aspersed with the charge of betraying his trust, for his own promotion; and it was necessary to remove that imputation, which possibly Peters assisted in doing. This had arisen from his treating too long; but he had now discovered the intrigues of Charles, and he would most likely assign his credulity as the cause of having so long continued the negotiation. Had he avowed other ends, he could not afterwards have been trusted; and the fact would have been handed down to us on indisputable authority. Ludlow, who was sufficiently inflamed against that individual, takes up the story from Berkeley, with the history of whose memoir he was unacquainted. But had it been true, Ludlow must have learnt it elsewhere; and Hutchinson and others, whose accounts contradict it, must have

clined a meeting, and it is alleged that he remarked he would willingly serve his majesty so far only as was consistent with his own safety *.

Berkeley having thus sounded the parties, immediately acquainted Charles that he ought now to take advantage of the freedom allowed him by Hammond to effect his escape; but the other, not presuming that his life was in the least hazard, disregarded the advice; and while he began a treaty with the parliament, he completed his engagement with the Scotch commissioners. To both houses he proposed a personal treaty, offering to restrain the power of the bishops, and to resign the militia during his reign: to transfer to the parliament the appointment of the great officers of state; to take away for a valuable consideration the courts of wards and liveries; to pass an act of oblivion, and to pay up the arrears of the army: but his great object was a personal treaty. Upon this the parliament sent four propositions, with notice, that upon his agreeing to these, he

Treaty for
peace.

been aware of it. When the royal artifices were seen through, such as had never wished accommodation would now have taken the lead in the present temper of the soldiery, had Cromwell attempted to coalesce unjustly with Charles. Berkeley and Ashburnham followed different interests instead of co-operating; and stories were industriously circulated against the first, that he was a presbyterian, in order to produce alienation from him in the army. Id. p. 19. See Clar. vol. v. p. 54. See an account of Berkeley's Mem. Id. p. 82. They were written expressly to be handed about among his friends. Ashburnham wrote a narrative also. Ib. See character of Berkeley in Supplement to 3d vol. of the Clar. Papers, p. 74.

* Berkeley's Memoirs, p. 75, 76.

should be admitted to the personal treaty he desired. By the first of these propositions, the militia was to be vested in parliament for twenty years, with the power even after that of resuming it whenever they conceived it necessary for the public good. By the second, the king was to recall all proclamations against the parliament, and acknowledge that it had resorted to arms on just and necessary grounds. By the third he was to annul all acts, as well as patents of peerage from the time the seal was taken away from London. And by the last, parliament was to have the full power to adjourn at pleasure. It is singular that these terms were more severe than those which had been tendered by the army, and more lenient than such as had been offered by both kingdoms during the king's residence at Newcastle; and yet that during his stay at Newcastle, the presbyterians had taken the lead in the negociation. The republican party, as it was afterwards styled, were anxious that he should reject the terms; for they dreaded, that if once restored to his place, he would burst every fetter, and, having regained that power which he formerly usurped, glut his vengeance with the ruin of his present conquerors. They were not mistaken in his character, considering what passed at the very moment with the Scotch commissioners. In conjunction with them, who protested against the terms as inconsistent with the covenant, he, to gain time, affected to change the propositions, and substitute

others; and particularly proposed that his acknowledgment of the justice of the parliament's cause should only be effectual in the event of the treaty being successful. His contract with the Scotch commissioners, in the meantime, was reduced to writing, and having been wrapped up in a sheet of lead, was buried by the king in the garden, for it was suspected that the commissioners might be searched on their departure from his majesty—that it might on their return to London be conveyed to them. By this contract, commonly known by the name of the engagement, he agreed to confirm the covenant; to establish the presbyterian church government for three years, till it should be either revised, or another prepared by an assembly of divines; to concur with them in extirpating the sectaries, and of consequence the present army; and to give to Scotland the advantages of England in a commercial view, while he admitted them to share in the honours of his English subjects. These terms, it was supposed, would so reconcile the Scots, that an army might be raised; but it was fully understood that there was no purpose to keep the conditions: the understanding was, that Ormonde should join them with all the forces he could raise; that Munro should return with the Scottish army from Ireland, and the royalists from all quarters be enlisted under the same banners; when it was hoped that the army might be modelled according to the royal directions, and the sword once again

fairly transferred to his own person, thus enabling him to resume the power he had lost *.

Charles had determined on an escape from the Isle of Wight, that he might set himself at the head of the intended army; and, in order to conceal his purpose, and delude the commissioners from the parliament, he delivered his answer to both houses sealed up; but they refused to receive an answer in such a manner, and they saw through his latent purpose. After some contention, Charles disclosed the purport of his answer, and they abruptly departed. An attempt was made at this time to rescue him by open mutiny, but, as it failed, it only revealed the designs meditated: the chief mutineer, Captain Burley, was arrested; the guards upon the king redoubled, and many of his attendants soon dismissed; while Colonel Rainsborough, now appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, was ordered to station his ships near the island, to block up all access by sea †.

It is impossible to excuse the conduct of Charles on this occasion. His arbitrary government had inflicted the utmost misery on his kingdoms, and driven the people to arms in defence of their privileges. The appeal had been decided in fa-

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 324, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 88, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 280, *et seq.* Berkeley's Mem. p. 80, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 230.

† Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 347, *et seq.* Cobbett's, vol. iii. p. 799, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 278, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 88, *et seq.* Herbert, p. 39, *et seq.*

vour of the parliament, and yet again did he determine to plunge the nations into all the horrors of civil war. It is indeed extraordinary that any historian should perceive magnanimity in such conduct. Nor is it enough to say, that the unfortunate Charles was reduced to a situation so much more humiliating than that of his predecessors, since his own conduct, in open attempts to overturn all law, had rendered restraints upon his prerogative, which the welfare of the state in former ages had not required, now absolutely necessary ; and after being defeated with the loss of so much blood in his illegal projects, he ought to have considered restoration to his throne, on any terms, a proof of moderation. The historian to whom we have so often alluded, has ventured to represent the custody of Charles as of the severest and most uncalled for kind, and the conduct of the governor as insolent and overbearing, while he has accused the parliament of having deceived the people as to his treatment and his cheerfulness. But we learn, even from Herbert, his attendant, and who, as one of the keenest royalists, published an account of matters during this period, that every means were adopted to render his restraint as comfortable as was consistent with securing his person ; that till the month of February he had full liberty to ride about at his pleasure, while his attendants were freely admitted ; that about the middle of February, long after the vote of no more addresses, and after some attempts at an escape, many of his attendants, as Ashburnham and Legge,

who had been engaged in the army-plots, and his chaplains, were ordered to leave the island; that after this he was not allowed to go beyond the lines, which were very extensive, "and sufficiently large and convenient for his walking and having good air," but that a neat summer-house, which commanded a most beautiful prospect, was erected; that a large garden was converted into a bowling-green for his amusement, Hammond himself having almost daily waited on him to join in the recreation; and that, in consequence of this individual's unremitting respect and attention, his own fidelity to his employers began to be suspected *. The grand charge against him by royalist writers was that he would not betray his trust by conniving at the king's escape †. To Ludlow we are indebted for an anecdote of what occurred at this time, descriptive of Charles's character:—That he one day was observed to take great delight in throwing a bone to two dogs—that in their struggle for it, he might typify the contention of parties for himself ‡.

No sooner was it understood in parliament that the clandestine treaty had been concluded with the Scots, and that Charles had attempted to escape, in order to set himself at the head of another army, than many of those who had hitherto been anxious for accommodation no longer sup-

Vote of no more addresses, 4th Jan., and declaration, 11th Feb. 1648.

* Herbert, p. 39, *et seq.* Hammond was the nephew of the king's chaplain, Dr. Hammond.

† See *Clar.* vol. v. p. 79, *et seq.*

‡ Ludlow, vol. i. p. 232.

ported him: a resolution was therefore taken to send no further addresses to him; and a declaration against him, detailing the various miscarriages of his reign, was drawn up. It sets out with the secret treaty with Spain; and then narrates what had occurred relative to the prosecution of Buckingham on the charge of having given the late king a posset, &c. which caused his death. In regard to this, the charge is given exactly in the original words: the simple fact is stated, that Charles proposed, by his own testimony, to vindicate the character of his servant; and that, upon parliament's persisting in their purpose of impeachment, the king, to frustrate the object, dissolved the parliament; when Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot were, for managing the impeachment, imprisoned in the Tower. After this simple statement of facts follows this concise remark: "We leave the world now to judge where the guilt of this remains." We have already delivered our sentiments on this subject; and we shall only remark here, that though we believe Charles to have been innocent, yet, that his conduct in regard to Buckingham was throughout so like absolute infatuation, that he had little cause to complain of conclusions against himself, when he so pertinaciously denied inquiry into a charge stated with the utmost circumstantiality. The declaration also adverts to the miscarriages at the Isle of Rhee and at Rochelle; the blood shed in England and Scotland to enforce popish ceremonies, if

not to introduce catholicism itself; the instructions to Cochran to make gross mis-statements to the court of Denmark, in which he, with the utmost indelicacy, falsely accuses the parliament of an intention to impeach his mother's chastity (a thing of which they never dreamt) that they might disinherit her offspring—all done for the purpose of engaging that kingdom to assist him with arms to prosecute a civil war. The plots against the parliament, the Irish rebellion, &c. were all enumerated, as well as his various acts of dissimulation, which last we particularly mention, as it alone ought to have prevented Mr. Hume from stating, that the charge of insincerity against this monarch was brought after his death.

The army seemed now to enter heartily into the principle of supporting parliament to change the government; and petitions to the same effect were received from various quarters; but, in the meantime, the adherents of Charles were not idle in preparing their party to rise in different quarters, that they might join the Scots and Irish*.

* Old. Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 483, *et seq.* Cob. vol. iii. p. 831, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 231, *et seq.* Clarendon says "That Cromwell, before this vote, declared the king was a man of great parts and understanding, faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without, but that he was so great a dissembler and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted, and thereupon repeated many particulars whilst he was in the army, that his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased and complained of it: That whilst he professed, with all solemnity, that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and

Scottish af-
fairs pre-
paratory to
the invasion
of England
under Ha-
milton.

The people of Scotland, predisposed against the English parliament, impatiently awaited the arrival of their commissioners, who had, it was believed, though they were not authorized to treat, at last induced the monarch to agree to terms consistent with their principles, and the supposed benefit of their country. The commissioners were, themselves, men admirably calculated for the royal designs. Lauderdale, the chief of them, had commenced a keen covenant, but Charles had succeeded in his conversion. His temper was dark, gloomy, sycophantish, and violent; his designs, the offspring mainly of unprincipled ambition. Lanerick, like his brother, the Marquis of Hamilton, veered about from one principle to another, steadily influenced by a desire of self-aggrandisement alone, while Loudon, the chancellor, plunged in pecuniary difficulties, was easily seduced from his integrity by a bribe.

composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament," vol. v. p. 91. From Clarendon himself, we learn, that the charge was true; and yet the imputation of insincerity against Charles was of a later growth than his own age.—But Clarendon does not defend him against it. No; because he acknowledges its truth. Other charges, he says, of such abominable actions as had never been heard of, were brought forward. *Ib.* It is singular, that Herbert denies that the king knew of the intention to rise in Scotland. Had he been deceived by Charles, as one not deemed to be thorough enough paced for his confidence?—But what is most strange, is, that he informs us there was a talk of an intercepted letter, so that Roger Coke was not the first to mention it. P. 61, *et seq.*

But, before proceeding farther, it may be necessary to present a picture of the state of parties at this time in Scotland. There were three, which were known under the names of the rigid presbyterians, the moderate presbyterians, and the royalists. The first, who were headed by Argyle, were supposed to incline to a republic, and were at all events determined never to restore monarchy, except on certain conditions, while a great proportion of them approved of bringing Charles to the scaffold, though they abhorred the sectarian instruments by which it was accomplished. This party embraced a small portion of the chief aristocracy, (Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, Lothian, Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Ross, Balmerinoch, Cupar, Burleigh, Balcarras, and it soon obtained the accession of Loudon, the chancellor, who, disgusted at the violence of the Hamiltons, returned to his principles, and others followed,) the far greater part of the clergy, and the majority of the middling and lower ranks, particularly in the western counties. The second, headed by the Hamiltons, did not nominally differ much from the first, except as to the last point; for they affected to adhere to the covenant, which necessarily denied authority to the monarch, till he complied with the terms prescribed for his readmission; but as the party was chiefly composed of the aristocratical portion of the community, of whom many had been actuated by the hope of places in England, they were now willing to restore the monarch uncon-

ditionally, from the prospect of sharing the favours which they presumed would be due to those who rendered so acceptable a service, while they conceived that they might themselves, in reality, preserve much of the power which they pretended to recover for him. The third party were the royalists, who avowed the purpose of restoring Charles to unmixed despotism, and were now headed by Traquair and Calendar*.

In the first triennial parliament, all the influence of the Hamiltons failed to accomplish their object of receiving Charles into Scotland unshackled. But, when that unhappy prince was seized by the army, and the friends of the presbyterians, of the Scottish particularly, (Hollis and others) were driven from the parliament, and the fear was, that the sectaries would either agree with the king, or dethrone him, and in either case establish themselves in power, the Marquis of Argyle, who adhered to Vane, sank in influence, and afforded his enemies an opportunity of depressing him still more, by charging him with a purpose to raise himself to the chief magistracy. Other circumstances strengthened the impression, and as elections for the second triennial parliament approached, the Hamilton interest, which was supposed at the time to be more favourable to the hope of constitutional monarchy, rose to that height, that their friends prevailed so

* Burnet's Mem. of the Hamiltons, p. 336. Charles's State Papers, vol. i. p. 73-4. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 255 to 260. 281, *et seq.*

much in elections as to obtain a preponderance. This parliament first met on the 11th of March, 1648*.

When the English commissioners returned to Scotland, the bulk of the people, entertaining the idea that the sectaries might be subdued, and the king restored according to the covenant, eagerly inquired into the terms of the engagement; but the discerning at once perceived how treacherously the commissioners had acted. They declared that the king had given satisfaction, yet refused to disclose the terms, alleging that they had come under an oath of secrecy; but though this succeeded with a parliament so well selected for the object, it did not with the population at large. Argyle's party, particularly the clergy, foresaw the consequences:—That, as the terms could only be concealed because they were either in themselves hostile to the covenant, or were never intended to be observed; so the king, who had refused to make the requisite concessions to the presbyterian government in his lowest fortune, would never yield to the conditions in the hour of triumph, unless the army were composed of men that could be relied on, as resolved to force him into their measures, or substitute another, who would be obedient. But that, as the old Earl of Leven was, by ill usage, obliged to renounce his place, that Hamilton might have the

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 283, *et seq.* Scots Acts, lately published, vol. vi. p. 289. Walker's Append. to Independency, p. 8. Clar. vol. v. p. 124, *et seq.*

chief command, and the royalists were to join him, while the subordinate commands were generally bestowed on those who would not deem the presbyterian government a primary object, the army could easily be modified to the royal wish, when all the laws enacted for the security of the subject would be abrogated as extorted; episcopacy re-established; and the presbyterians, with their leaders and clergy, exposed to the monarch's vengeance.

The clergy, therefore, in their assembly, opposed the engagement, and the pulpits resounded with anathemas against its authors and abettors; but the parliament passed bloody laws against those who should attempt to frustrate their intended invasion of England, and provided for the impressment of troops. On the one hand, the poor people were threatened with terrible temporal penalties for disobeying the parliament; on the other, with eternal damnation if, by obedience, they violated the covenant. But the clergy soon found to their grief and mortification, that an army could be raised without them: Yet a part of the soldiers were impressed into the service; and not only were insurrections raised against the present proceedings, but Argyle was prepared to take the field on the absence of the new levied army. To obtain the advantage of some experienced commanders, and give character to the expedition, it was proposed to bestow a command on David Leslie, and some other great officers; but though they were at first disposed

to accept of the places assigned, they afterwards yielded to the persuasions of the clergy to renounce all part in such an expedition. They were probably not a little moved by the chief command having been obtained by Hamilton*.

When a nation is determined on war, it never fails in a pretext. A vote was passed in a committee of danger, as it was called, which had been appointed by the parliament, to seize Carlisle and Berwick; but the protest of Argyle and his friends in parliament, and the interposition of the church, stopt the measure till a pretext for the act was obtained. The two English royalists, Langdale and Mushgrave, concerted with them to seize Carlisle and Berwick, and it was immediately alleged that the vicinity of these malignants rendered the general levy necessary. According to the pacification, neither country was to begin war against the other, without due premonition, and full time for explanation or redress; and, in compliance with this, Hamilton and his party made three requisitions to the English parliament: That the sectaries should be suppressed, the king recalled, and the army disbanded. To requisitions so extraordinary, nothing but a refusal was expected, and fifteen days only were al-

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 283, *et seq.* Burnet's Memorials, p. 336, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 144. Guthrie, p. 209. It would appear that several of Argyle's party, or Argilians as they were called, were turned out of parliament, as having been elected by faction, &c., and the royalists who had been candidates, substituted as the duly elected. *Ib.* p. 213. This arose from the peers sitting in the same house with the other estates.

lowed for explanation, after which the estates publicly declared that they meant to restore the king according to the covenant, and adjourned. Part of the army was recalled from Ireland, under Munro the younger, but levies were vigorously opposed by the church, and there were even risings to oppose them; but these were soon quelled; and as the soldiers were drawn out by force, it was evident that they either must be inefficient in war, or become the tools of a few leading men. But even the officers were jealous, lest the success of the English royalists should give them the ascendancy, and therefore slackened the preparations, that they might be of more importance when the others began to sink under the war. The retardment would have been pregnant with the ruin of the cause, had there otherwise been a great chance of success, as the English insurrections were almost quelled before the Scottish army could take the field *.

Insurrec-
tion in
England,
&c.

In South Wales the great body of the people knew nothing of the English tongue; and as the gentry, under whose influence they were, inclined to the royal side, a considerable army was speedily raised to oppose the parliament, but it was soon defeated by Colonel Horton. In order to prevent Cromwell, whose genius was dreaded equally by the royalist and presbyterian parties, from having

* Clar. vol. v. p. 144, *et seq.* Burnet's Mem. p. 339, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 283, *et seq.* Scots Acts lately published, vol. vi. Rush. vol. vii. p. 1005-47. Guthry, p. 214, *et seq.*

a command, his former creature Major Huntingdon, whom of all the officers Charles reposed greatest confidence in, because he accepted of his favours, laid down his commission, assigning as his reason, that Cromwell had offered to the king to destroy the parliament, and join with any party to support him; and that he had latterly changed his policy for the same purpose of exalting himself, while he had professed principles absolutely hostile to the parliament. But though this charge was zealously taken up by Hollis and his party, after their return to the lower house, (Cromwell was alleged to have said that he conceived himself as fully qualified to govern affairs as either Hollis or Stapleton,) it was so vigorously opposed by the independents, including many who entertained no favourable opinion of him, that it was overborne *. His first measures were directed against Poyer and Langhorn. Poyer had been in the

Charge
against
Cromwell
by Hunt-
ingdon.

* See Huntingdon's charge in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 94; also in Parl. Hist. See also his relation made to Dugdale after the restoration, published with Herbert's Memoirs. That both contain much truth, there can be no doubt: but that there is an immense mixture of falsehood, may easily be ascertained by collating the two, and comparing them with Berkeley's Memoirs, &c. See Ludlow, vol. i. p. 253, 254. Cromwell, some little time before this, at a secret meeting, declared that he was not resolved against monarchy, and that that form of government, or an aristocratical or demoeratical one, might be good in themselves. It was at this meeting, where nothing was determined or spoken of against the king's person, that he threw the cushion at Ludlow's head. Id. p. 238-40. The statement by Clarendon regarding a council held at Windsor a few days after the king's flight from the army, where it was determined to bring him to trial, must therefore be unfounded. Vol. v. p. 92, 93.

parliament service, and, as one of their officers, entrusted with the custody of Pembroke castle, which he now declared his resolution to hold for the king. Of a dissipated character, he, while sober in the morning, expressed the utmost penitence towards the parliament; but, inebriated in the evening, he was full of plots in favour of the opposite party. Some of Langhorn's regiment had joined Poyer, and Langhorn shortly after his defeat by Horton, followed himself. But they were speedily shut up there by Cromwell, who determined to reduce the place*.

Earl of
Norwich's
insurrec-
tion.

Lord Goring, now created Earl of Norwich, had gone to Blackheath, expecting to be joined by a great party from London; but a tumult in the metropolis having been suppressed, those in the city who had undertaken to join him durst not venture out; and he, with about 500 of his principal men, escaped to the opposite side of the Thames. Disappointed in Kent, he yet raised a considerable party in Essex; but the parliament having offered an indemnity to deserters, while they thundered penalties against those who continued obstinate, thinned his ranks; and though he still retained 4000 soldiers, he was defeated, and soon shut up in Colchester. Fresh troops were drawn out by the parliament from various shires, and sent in different directions. Fairfax was dispatched against this party. He was at the time so ill of the gout,

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 2017. 33, 34, *et seq.*; 1110, *et seq.* White-
locke, p. 293, *et seq.*

as to require one of his feet to be bandaged; but his buoyant spirit was as little inclined to yield to the indisposition of the body, as his dauntless resolution was to be dismayed by danger; and while he was ready to bear all the fatigues of a campaign, he always exposed himself in the hottest of the fight. Wherever he went he was victorious, and he now sent a trumpet to Colchester, to summon the Earl of Norwich, and his associates to surrender; but that individual and his chief officers replied by a trumpet, that they would cure him of the gout, and all his other diseases—an insult which equally enraged the soldiery and the general, and for which the others dearly suffered*. But before we give an account of the siege of Colchester, we shall take a review of proceedings in other quarters. The Earl of Holland, who, with that inconstancy of temper that distinguished his public conduct, had raised another body against the parliament, was defeated by Scroop, and obliged to surrender on the bare condition of being safe from military execution†. In Lancashire, Colonel Robert Lilburne, the brother of John, had with 600 engaged 1000, headed by Sir Richard Tempest, and either taken or destroyed them, without the loss of a man‡. Another party

Earl of
Holland's
insurrec-
tion, &c.

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 976. 1055. 1113. 1129, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 308, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 151, *et seq.*

† Whitelocke, p. 317-20. Clar. vol. v. p. 174-6. Rush. vol. vii. p. 1187.

‡ Id. p. 1175. Whitelocke, p. 317.

was defeated by Colonel Rositer, near Pontefract, and 1000 horse, nearly their whole body, with all their bag and baggage taken *. Lambert, who was sent to meet Hamilton, as well as to suppress Langdale and the others, gained considerable success over the latter †; while Cromwell, having reduced Pembroke castle, where we left him, dispatched some of his troops to join Lambert, and prepared to follow himself.

Hamilton's
invasion
from Scot-
land.

For the command of an army, Hamilton appears to have been totally unqualified. Munro, who had been recalled from Ireland with 3000 men, followed at a great distance, lest he should be under the command of the Earl of Calendar; and Hamilton himself did not form a junction with Langdale, either through jealousy of him, or fear of disgusting his own men. An army thus disjointed, derived little advantage from numbers; and so defective was Hamilton's intelligence, that Cromwell fell upon Langdale at Preston, before he (Hamilton) suspected the approach of more than a detachment; and in a short time the whole army was put to a disorderly rout by forces scarcely a third of their number. This victory was followed with fresh success, which, however, was accompanied by the death of a parliamentary officer, Colonel Thornhaugh, one of the most gallant men of the age. Finding himself mortally wounded, he felt only interest in the overthrow of the enemy,

Howe's
invasion
Defeated at
Preston,
Aug. 17,
1648.

* Whitelocke, p. 318. Rush, vol. vii. p. 1182, *et seq.*

† Id. p. 1148, *et seq.*

and expired with joy when victory was announced. After this defeat Hamilton retreated; but Cromwell still following up the blow, utterly dispersed the army at Warrington, where Hamilton, with many thousand prisoners, fell into his hands. The fugitives met with little quarter from the country people, in consequence of the atrocities of which they had been guilty; children having even been forced from their parents, that money might be extorted for their redemption. Munro, who had been behind, and kept his force together, had resolved on firing the coal-pits on his retreat; but news having arrived that Argyle with Leslie had raised an army of from six to ten thousand in support of the covenant, and consequently against the interest he espoused, he hastened back to Scotland, carrying every thing he could before him*.

Cromwell marched towards Scotland, and knowing how to act his part, immediately joined with Argyle, and affected all moderation: He renewed the solemn league and covenant, and easily got the engagement rescinded. Now was the time for the Scottish clergy to triumph in turn. How contrary to their views the engagement had been entered into, and the army raised, we have already related; and it was not to be

* Burnet's Mem. of the Hamiltons, p. 354, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vii. p. 1193, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 321, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 160, *et seq.* Carte's Letters, vol. ii. p. 159, *et seq.* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 297. Guthrey, p. 235, *et seq.*

expected that they should allow the present opportunity of humbling their adversaries to slip. Though the chancellor, Loudon, disgusted by the violence of Hamilton, had previously abandoned the engagement, his early repentance did not satisfy the church any more than it did his own lady, who being a zealous presbyterian, and having a great ascendancy over him, in consequence of having brought him the estate, threatened to divorce him for his manifold adulteries, unless he submitted to the penance enjoined him by the clergy. Placed upon the repenting stool, in his own parish church, he received a rebuke in the face of the whole congregation, and the scene is represented as having been a most affecting one. With many bitter tears he deplored his departure from the covenant, and solicited the prayers of the congregation in his behalf. The whole people at such a refreshing sight were dissolved in tears of joy*.

* The feelings of the moderate Scottish clergy are exemplified in the following letter by Baillie, dated 23d August, 1648. After shewing that there was a probability of the army under Fairfax being destroyed, he proceeds thus: "That the cursed army of sectaries should vanish in smoke, and their friends in the houses, city and country, be brought to their well-deserved ruin; that the king and his family should be at last in some nearness to be restored to their dignity and former condition, I am very glad: But my fear is great, that his restitution shall come by these hands," (the Hamiltons, &c.) "and be so ill prepared, that the glorious reformation we have suffered so much for, shall be much endangered, and the most that shall be obtained be but an Erastian presbytery, with a toleration of popery and Episcopacy at court, and of divers sects elsewhere." Baillie, vol. ii, p. 298. See Hamilton's Mem. p. 367, *et seq.* N.B. The word Whig,

Colonel Rainsborough, whose father had been an eminent naval commander, and who was himself bred to that line, having been appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, was set on shore by the mutinous sailors; and many of the ships revolted from the parliament, but several of them were afterwards brought back by the Earl of Warwick; and the vigorous measures of the parliament soon made up the deficiency of those which were not recovered. It is strange, that no sooner had the cavaliers obtained these ships, which the Prince of Wales and Rupert entered, than they broke out into the most ruinous contentions for superiority *.—The known principles of Rainsborough excited such a rancorous spirit of revenge in the cavaliers, that though defeated in one dastardly attempt at his assassination, they soon afterwards succeeded in another, no less cowardly and unprincipled †.

Revolt of
part of the
fleet from
the parlia-
ment.

Assassina-
tion of
Rainsbor-
ough.

as designating a party, arose from the west country men who joined Argyle, called Whigamores. Guthrey's Mem. p. 238, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 339, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 172-3. Scot of Scotstarvet's Stagging State of Scotch Statesmen. Carte's Letters, vol. i. p. 171, *et seq.* In a manuscript of Wodrow's which I have seen, giving a violent history of Archbishop Sharpe during his life, it is said that he was at first for the engagement; but finding that it was not a politic game, he furiously brought all his parishioners to the repenting stool, who had in the least inclined that way. Ludlow, p. 253, shews great knowledge of Scottish affairs.

* Clar. vol. v. p. 136, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vii. p. 943, 944. 952. 1131. Whitelocke, p. 308. Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 896.

† Rush. vol. v. p. 1279. 1315. Mrs. M'Auly remarks, that Clarendon, to his eternal infamy, applauds every circumstance of the foul unmanly deed. Vol. iv. p. 402. Clar. vol. v. p. 188 to 190.

State of the
parliament.

As many officers of the army had in the late elections become members of the lower house, their absence on duty during these disturbances so weakened their party in parliament, that their adversaries took advantage of the opportunity to attempt a recovery of their authority. The impeachments against the peers, and the members of the commons, were dropt; and the secluded members restored.

Policy of
Charles.

The object now was to conclude a hasty treaty with the king, that, with the name of parliament joined to the royal authority, they might regain the ascendancy; and so feasible was the plan, that, could Charles have for once determined to act ingenuously, and have made the requisite concessions, it is not impossible that he might have saved his life and recovered his throne: but a naturally obstinate temper had become rivetted to his purpose by adversity, and as he still apprehended no danger to his person, he yet expected by force of arms to restore himself to absolute power. In vain was it urged, that, before the overthrow of Hamilton and the cavaliers, was his time for accommodation; that great part of the parliamentary army, if they were not absolutely brought over, might be neutralized by such an event, while throughout England the people would oppose a force that must nominally at least fight against king and parliament. He fondly flattered himself that the Scottish army, joined to the cavaliers, would be triumphant; and, under pretext of desiring a negociation, he determined against concluding a treaty till he saw the

result. Even then his prospects were not closed, as he had formed the idea of escaping to Ireland, and setting himself at the head of the Irish insurgents. During his stay at Newcastle, all the entreaties of the queen and his lay advisers, to yield to the presbyterian establishment, had utterly failed, and nothing could move him to accede to the less rigorous propositions of the army; but he had now become surrounded with advisers who approved of his resolution. These were ecclesiastics, (Sheldon, Hammond, and others,) who, having lost their livings, were hostile to any arrangement that should for ever exclude them from power. Lord Clarendon, too, encouraged him by letters, to the same course. Exempted himself from pardon by all the propositions, he founded all his hopes of being restored to his country, and rewarded by the crown, on a steady refusal of accommodation— which, however fatal it might prove to his present master, would, he flattered himself, ultimately be triumphant in the person of the prince. It therefore appears, by his private correspondence, that he deemed it better that the king should fall a victim to his principles than yield to his enemies. In the clash of parties he expected that the successor would be recalled unshackled; but thought that if what he supposed the best jewels of the crown were once renounced, they might never be recovered*.

Though Charles had resolved against complying with the propositions tendered to him, he was too

* *Char. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 341, *et seq.* particularly p. 411.

Treaty of
Newport.

deep a politician not to pretend to entertain them. Three bills were tendered to him preparatory to a treaty: to settle church-government and the militia, and recall all proclamations and declarations against the parliament. These occupied much time; and Charles agreed to the latter, by which he owned the justice of the war against him, but he did so with equivocation, and likewise under a protest that it should only be obligatory in the event of the treaty being completed in other respects. This wasted much time, and a treaty was afterwards ordained to be held at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, whither Charles was removed; but it did not begin till about the end of September, when commissioners from the parliament went down. The treaty embraced the old points of the militia, the church, and Ireland. With regard to the first, he affected an inclination to proceed further than could have been anticipated. The parliament demanded it for twenty years, and he proposed to allow it for ten; but in a short time he even agreed to renounce it for twenty, and this point was voted to be satisfactory. He also agreed to allow the parliament the power of nominating the great officers, first, for ten years, and, afterwards, even for twenty. But, as we shall soon find, the object was not to conclude a treaty on such conditions, but to spin out the time, and so to overreach the adverse party—that they might relax their vigilance in guarding him, and thus afford him an opportunity to escape. Assured that he could break off the treaty on the re,

ligious grounds, he was anxious, too, by such apparent concessions, to inculcate the idea that he was restrained from accommodation by conscientious motives, and not by a desire of power. Regarding religion, he proposed to pass an act confirming the sitting of the assembly of divines, and establishing the directory of worship, together with the presbyterian government, for three years, provided neither himself nor those of his judgment should be obliged to conform; but that, in the meantime, the assembly of divines, to whose number he insisted on adding twenty, should determine upon the future government of the church, and the form of worship. He afterwards agreed to give up archbishops, deans, and chapters, but not bishops. Parliament had sold the bishops' lands to defray the expenses of the war, as well as to prevent the recurrence of that species of establishment; but he positively refused to confirm the sale, though, as some satisfaction to the purchasers, he agreed to grant leases on lives, or for ninety-nine years, at the old rents. It is not so wonderful that he should have refused to take the covenant, and have hesitated at exceptions from indemnity. But as the presbyterian party, in point of church-government, were so extremely rigorous, that they even still denied toleration, there was, on this head, no hope of concluding a treaty. With regard to Ireland, he indeed proposed to annul the peace concluded by Ormond, and said that, after advising with his two houses, he would leave the prosecution of the business to their determination;

but, when pressed to disavow the acts of his lieutenant in that kingdom, he gave such evasive answers, that they were pronounced unsatisfactory.

Charles spun out the negotiation, and disputed with ecclesiastics, not only to gain time till the hoped-for success of the insurgents, both in England and Scotland, should put him in a better posture, but to induce the adverse party, on the faith of peace, to remit their vigilance in guarding him, that he might effect his escape, and place himself at the head of the army; but a great attempt at an escape was detected and defeated by Captain Ralph. Indignant at such a discharge of duty, his emissaries foully charged that individual with a design to assassinate his majesty, and many affected to believe the charge, and to take a deep interest in the trial; but the object was too obvious for success, and the grand jury refused to find a bill of high treason. This proceeding was much of a piece with the charge against Cromwell by Huntingdon, which was so encouraged by Hollis and his party for the removal of that commander.

In the concessions, including those to the three propositions which Charles had made, he was insincere, his object being two-fold: to amuse the parliament, till he should ascertain the fate of his

* Old. Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 892, 893, *et seq.* Cob. vol. iii. p. 904, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 316, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 180, *et seq.* Herbert, p. 69, *et seq.* Sir Edward Walker, p. 7. Perfect copies of all votes, &c. relating to the Treaty at Newport. Ludlow, vol. i. p. 254, *et seq.*

military projects both in Scotland and England; and to induce the parliament, in confidence of an accommodation, to be so negligent about guarding him, that he might effect his escape. He therefore writes to Ormonde, that though he were engaged in a treaty, yet lest Ormonde might be misled by false rumours, he apprised him that there was no chance of an accommodation. "Wherefore," says he, "I must command you two things; first, to obey all my wife's commands, then, not to obey any public command of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for they will come to nothing." We may, in passing, remark, in regard to this letter, that it fully proves the continuance of that principle which, he said, during his residence at Newcastle, he had learned from divines—that no promise by a man under restraint was obligatory; and it may just be asked upon what principle any agreement with the parliament could be in a better predicament? He had formerly, according to his noble advocate, passed bills on the ground that a fatal nullity attached to them in consequence of the parliament not being altogether free when they were voted; (a resolution which, though Clarendon could not defend, Mr. Hume does,) but assuredly the objection applied with tenfold force now. The letter just quoted was dated on the 10th October, (1648) and on the 28th of that month he fully confirms it, and proceeds thus: "This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you; likewise to

command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall, under my own hand, give you other commands. And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not, but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all my friends, but not in a public way, because it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin *." In the meantime, he carried on a correspondence with Sir William Hopkins, regarding a ship to convey him from the island; and his letters to that individual fully prove the want of candour with which he was negotiating with the parliament. "To deal freely with you," says he in one of his letters to Hopkins, "the great concession I made to-day was merely in order to my escape, of which, if I had not hopes, I had not done. For then I could return to my straight prison without reluctance, but I now confess it will break my heart, having done that which nothing but an escape can justify †." Yet Charles had given his parole not to leave the place.

* Append. to Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 17.

† Letters subjoined to Wagstaff's Vindication, 3d edit. p. 142. 161, 9th Oct. Hopkin's resided opposite to Newport. Hume, upon the authority of Colonel Cooke's Memoirs, states that, so extremely honourable was Charles, that though he might have effected his escape, he would not so far violate his word. These letters shew the utter groundlessness of the statement, and set the character of this unhappy prince in a very different light. But what shall we say to another statement of Hume, that all Charles's attendants were excluded from his presence when he negotiated with the commissioners, and yet that such were his transcendent abilities, that

Hollis and some others, upon their knees, and with tears in their eyes, beseeched him to comply while it was yet time; but they did it in vain. When matters disappointed his hopes in England, he fixed them steadily on Ireland, where Inchiquin, having revolted from the parliament, had reared a standard for the king, and the catholics, notwith-

he fully matched all his antagonists? It is true that, according to Clarendon, Hume's own authority, the parliamentary commissioners did insist, as a matter of form, on their exclusion; but it is as true, according to the same authority, that the king was attended by the most eminent divines, as well as great lawyers; that it was arranged with the parliamentary commissioners, that these should be placed behind a curtain, that, though absent in point of form, they might fully hear the whole debate, and that the king on every difficulty might retire to consult with them. *Clar. vol. v. p. 209.* Even this, however, was a mistake; for both Herbert and Warwick, who were present, inform us, that they stood behind his majesty's chair. The latter says, they were not allowed to speak: The former, in one page, gives us to understand the same thing, and mentions, that Charles answered all the commissioners, who were many, without any discomposure. But from what he says in the preceding page, I conceive that he wished to magnify the king's talent by a small pious fraud. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsay, and several others of the nobility attended him. Of the clergy, there were Drs. Hammond, Sheldon, Juxon, Holdsworth, Sanderson, Turner. Of lawyers, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Vaughan, &c. Herbert, p. 70, 71. See p. 72, 73. Warwick, p. 332.—Even Warwick says, that Charles retired to consult, either when he wished assistance himself, or any of his attendants desired to suggest or debate any thing. The papers in the royal name have been supposed by Laing the king's production, though Charles had so many able advisers about him; and Herbert expressly gives us to understand that every paper was drawn by them. The verses in Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons, alleged to have been written by Charles in Carisbrook-castle, are a palpable forgery.

standing a severe defeat by Jones, the parliamentary general, were still powerful*. The unhappy monarch had involved himself in so many intrigues, that he could not move a single step without perfidy, and thus convincing all who were acquainted with his measures of the utter insecurity of any agreement with him. He had pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, to Glamorgan and the Pope's nuncio, imprecating the divine vengeance if he failed, and yet not only the concessions demanded of him, but even those proposed by himself in regard to that island, involved a complete departure from all those engagements, and would necessarily have exposed the catholics to the utmost perils for having relied on his promises †.

In the mean time all England was subdued, and Cromwell, after his success in Scotland, was on his return to the south. Colchester, after a gallant defence, surrendered on the 27th of August. Quarter was allowed to the privates and officers under the rank of captain; but the rest surrendered at the mercy of the general. Three of the prisoners, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoyne, were tried almost immediately by court-martial, and condemned to be shot; but the

Surrender
of Colches-
ter, and end
of the war.

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 246

† Clar. vol. v. p. 208, *et seq.* Burnet's Mem. Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 276, *et seq.* Mr Thomas Scott said in parliament, when the personal treaty was proposed, "that there could be no time seasonable for such a treaty with so perfidious and implacable a prince. Id. vol. xviii. p. 1, *et seq.* Cob. vol. iii. p. 922, *et seq.* See Herbert and Walker. Whitelocke, p. 320, *et seq.*

sentence was only executed on the two first. Lucas, who was at first much dismayed, urged that this was without precedent, "but a parliament soldier standing by, told him he had put to death with his own hand some of the parliament soldiers in cold blood." When he engaged in this insurrection, he was a prisoner on parole; and Fairfax had, in the beginning of the siege, reproached him, when he proposed an exchange of prisoners, "that he had forfeited his parole, his honour, and faith, being his prisoner upon parole, and therefore not capable of command or trust in martial affairs." Whitelocke, however, informs us, that the rigorous proceedings against these individuals, and the other prisoners, was in no small degree imputed to the message about curing the general of the gout, and all his other diseases*. Lucas, finding his fate inevitable, strung his nerves for the occasion, and met it with intrepidity. He suffered first; and Lisle having kissed his dead body, and expostulated to no purpose with the general, and had much conversation with one of Lord Norwich's chaplains, died with equal resolution. The other prisoners of rank were reserved for the justice of the parliament†. This siege,

* Whitelocke, p. 312.

† The proceedings against Lucas and Lisle, according to Clarendon, "was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the general, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature." The injustice of the charge here, affords an example of the injurious imputations against Ireton's memory. Whitelocke imputes the mea-

which had tied down Fairfax, and was on that account greatly calculated on by the royalists, being finished, he proceeded to other quarters to quell the insurgents.

Situation of
Charles,
and views of
the Independent
party.

By not complying in time, Charles sealed his own doom. No party now could trust him, and that which had gained the ascendancy could only secure its own safety by his removal. An idea had been entertained by some, that if the inferior offenders were brought to the scaffold, the grand delinquent should not be permitted to escape; and the principle of self-preservation recommended the notion, not only to the party which, by this fresh conquest, now obtained the reins of government, but even to another, provided it should be equally successful. Yet Ireton and some others, then argued only for deposing Charles, and placing the crown on the Duke of York, who had not been like his elder brother, in arms against the parlia-

ture to the revenge of Fairfax himself; and he (Fairfax) not only justified it in a letter to the parliament, but in his own memoirs. Hume says, "Fairfax, instigated by Ireton, to whom Cromwell, in his absence, had consigned over the government of the passive general, &c." Fairfax assisted in the restoration, and that was an excuse for all his previous faults; but his defenders, as Clarendon, Hume, and others, certainly adopt a notable mode of vindicating his memory, by making him (who was a man of eminent talent) the passive tool of others in any thing they stigmatize as atrocious. Such a being could have no more moral character than an unhappy inmate of any lunatic assylum. Whitelocke, p. 312, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vii. p. 152, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 430, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 6, *et seq.*

ment. This moderate course, however, was soon abandoned. From what they had already seen and suffered, they could not but anticipate fresh insurrections in his favour, even though they should confine him strictly to a prison. It was conceived that the act of holding out to the people at large, that no misdeeds of his could bring his existence into hazard, inspired that train of thinking which was just calculated to recommend him in fresh adventures for the recovery of power; and it was fully believed, that, impose upon him what conditions they might, they could not effectually bind him, since he had fully evinced by his past conduct, that by no ties was he to be restrained; and, in the present unsettled state of the nation, he could never find difficulty in raising up a body to take a perfidious advantage of the false security of those with whom he had entered into an accommodation. But this idea became still stronger, from a pretty prevalent conviction that Hollis and his party were now determined to break the army with almost any sacrifice, even that of the principles on which they had undertaken the war. The question then appeared to them to be; were all those who had successfully waged the war, and suffered so many privations on their account, to be exposed as victims of regal fury, through the treachery of part of that assembly that ought to be the guardian of public rights? was every principle on which the war was undertaken to be renounced, and, in observance of the form of the legislature, the substance to be for ever lost?

Thus the re-admission of the excluded members, and the spirit which they showed in favour of the king now, so very different from what they formerly both expressed and acted upon, proved fatal to him, and led to that violence upon the parliament which created so great a revolution in the state. That many of the great actors in this business were men of upright characters and patriotic views, cannot be justly questioned; and it is not easy to determine how men under such circumstances ought to have acted; but, on the other hand, it is evident, that the army, being thus used as an engine of government, was, in the most alarming degree, taught its own superiority. The parliament was, indeed, entrusted for the public good, but the army was employed by it; and when it was brought forward to act in opposition to the power that raised it, the civil government seemed ready to pass over to the military.

Ludlow tells us, that, in this exigency, he went directly to the general, and insisted on his interposition; but he, (Fairfax,) though he acknowledged the justice of Ludlow's representation, as to the sinister motives of many members; the utter impossibility of treating with the king, as he would not conceive himself bound by any conditions; and the necessity of coercing the parliament, if it dared to conclude a treaty—was irresolute; and Ludlow applied to the general's great friend Ireton, (Cromwell was not yet returned from Scotland) to use his influence over him. Ireton agreed with Ludlow regarding the necessity of such a proceeding,

provided the parliament should conclude a treaty with the king: But he expressed a wish to afford them an opportunity to testify such a barefaced breach of trust as he conceived that to be. Ludlow argued, on the other hand, that were the peace once concluded, the country might be deceived by the cry, that the army obstructed a settlement to preserve their own power, and Ireton was sensibly moved by his representation.* Nothing forcible, however, was yet resorted to, but a large remonstrance was presented from the army, not only signed by Fairfax himself, but accompanied with a letter by him to the speaker, in which he declares it to contain his own opinion as well as that of the council of officers. In this remonstrance the various miscarriages and crimes of the king, many of which had been judged capital in his predecessors, and the fruitlessness of the treaties are detailed; his fraud, hypocrisy, and revenge, are dwelt on; and the impossibility of binding him by any conditions, fully stated; whence it is inferred, that accommodation with him would be destructive, that parliament had sufficient cause to resume the vote of non addresses, and at once refuse the king liberty to return to London, or right to have any share in the government: it was insisted on that delinquents should no more be bargained with, or partially dealt with, and that they, though the penalties upon them might be moderated on submission, should neither

Remonstrance of the army, &c.

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 262, *et seq.*

be protected nor pardoned by any power whatever. They at great length shew the necessity of bringing the king, as the prime cause of the innocent blood, rapine, mischief and spoil, of the kingdom, to justice. How far, "say they, the public justice of the kingdom can be satisfied, the blood, rapine, &c. avenged, or expiated, and the wrath of God for the same appeased, without judgment executed against him; and consequently how far an accommodation with him, implying a restitution of him, when God hath given him so clearly into your power to do justice—can be just before God or good men, (without so much as a judicial trial, or evident remorse appearing in him proportionable to the offence,) we thus recommend to your saddest and most serious consideration, who must one day be accountable for your judgments here on earth, to that which is highest and most just." They therefore propose "that the capital and grand author of our troubles, the person of the king, by whose commissions, commands, or procurement, and in whose behalf, and for whose interest only, of will and power, all our woes and troubles have been, with all the miseries attending them, may be speedily brought to justice, for the treason, blood, and mischief, he is therein guilty of." 2dly, That a day should be set for the prince of Wales and the duke of York, (the duke had lately, through a contrivance of the king's, escaped from his keepers,) to come in, when they might either be pardoned or proceeded against, as they gave satisfaction; 3dly, That public justice might be execut-

ed against some capital promoters of the war; 4thly, That the rest, upon submission, should have mercy for their lives; 5thly, That the soldiers might have arrears paid them out of delinquents' estates; 6thly, That a period should be set to this parliament, and a more equal representation be made in the new; that the representatives of the people having been elected according to rules which they projected, should be the supreme power; and that no king should thereafter be admitted but upon election by the representative, and in trust for the people; that the government should be established by the present parliament, as the general contract and agreement of the people, whose subscriptions should be appended, while neither king nor any other person should be admitted to power, without subscribing. These things the army pressed as beneficial for this and the other kingdoms, trusting that the parliament would not take it amiss as proceeding from their servants, since they ought to remember that they are themselves only servants and trustees for the public.*

The remonstrance excited great agitation in the house: some inveighed sharply against it, as the height of insolence in their servants; many were silent from fear of the army; others palliated and excused it; and some again openly justified it.

* No one will pretend that all who assented to this remonstrance fully at this time meditated the king's death, and force on the parliament, and that they approved of what had been formerly done in regard to the parliament. But it has been commonly asserted, as undoubted,

Some of the commissioners most inclined to popular measures, had already left the king; but those who remained urged him to agree to terms instantly—that a peace once concluded, the people might

that the generous Fairfax condemned all such proceedings, and in the memoirs published as his, and which are doubtless genuine to a certain extent—though one would wish to believe that what is just to be quoted, is an interpolation by his son-in-law, the duke of Buckingham, or other relation, there occurs the following passage: “I say, from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triploew Heath, I never gave my free consent to any thing they did, but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course, to all the papers, whether I consented or not, and to such failings are all authorities subject.” See his memoirs in Scott’s edition of Somers’ tracts, vol. v. This has been held as evidence in his favour; but I would ask whether his name were, or could be, set to the following letter which he sent to the speaker of the commons, along with the above remonstrance?

“Mr Speaker,

The general council of officers at their late meeting here, unanimously agreed on a remonstrance to be presented to you, which is herewith sent by the hands of Colonel Ewer, and the officers; and, in regard, it concerns matters of highest and present importance to yourself and to us, and the whole kingdom, I do, at the desire of the officers, and in behalf of them *and myself*, humbly and earnestly intreat that it may have a present reading, and the things propounded be timely considered, and that no failing in circumstance or expressions may prejudice either the reason or justice of what is here tendered, or their intentions, of whose good affections and constancy you have had so long experience.

I remain, &c.
FAIRFAX.”

St. Albans, Nov. 16th.

N. B. His father died the preceding summer.

It is needless to make any comments on this; and human effrontery, one would think, could scarcely pen his alleged defence of himself, in what are called his memoirs. Therefore, out of charity, let us believe certain passages interpolations. His name was set, by way

join with him against the army if it dared to disobey him; but he was inexorable, and the military had already gone too far to recede. As money was still withheld from the general, he wrote to the house of commons, that unless funds were provided for the exigences of the troops, he must himself take it from the collectors and receivers; and though the letter was thought highly unbecoming by many, yet it was not a time to cavil, far less to attempt to punish it*. A full council of the army having agreed to a declaration to the parliament, it was immediately sent. In this they

Declaration
of the army.

of course, to papers, by the officers! Did they hold his hand, and make him write this letter, as Ingolsby most impudently alleged Cromwell did, when he signed the warrant for the king's execution? Did they force him to march to London to overawe the parliament, and write to the lord mayor, which we shall notice soon? The truth is, that at the Restoration, as it was the object to confine the charge of accomplishing the king's death to a few, and to gain the firm support of all who had joined in the Restoration; so all were loud in the vindication of Fairfax, who assisted the Restoration, and did not sit at the trial of Charles. We shall afterwards have occasion to say a little on that subject.

We have already shewn the erroneousness of Hume's statements relative to Charles' sincerity; but the following passage of the remonstrance may be fairly quoted. After enumerating his misdeeds, it proceeds thus, "And let those many particulars of hypocrisy, dissimulation, and treachery, couched under his fairest overtures, professions, and protestations, which yourselves, in your several declarations have observed and recorded, bespeak what cause there is to confide in his promises or engagements;" and yet the imputation of insincerity was of a later growth than his own age. The remonstrance goes on to prove his revengeful disposition; and it accuses him of the murder of his father; yet this was the adopted language at least of Fairfax. See Fairfax's letters, and the army's remonstrance at length, in *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 160-238. *Cob.* vol. iii. p. 1077, *et seq.* *Rush.* vol. vii. p. 133. *et seq.* *Whitelocke*, p. 355.

* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 265. *Whitelocke*, p. 357.

again express their apprehensions of the dangers and evils attending a treaty with the king, and justify their late remonstrance; remarking that, far from having obtained an answer to it, they perceived that none was to be expected, as, to their grief, the consideration of their remonstrance was deferred from day to day: that they believed that the majority in parliament were guilty of a treacherous, or corrupt neglect of the public trust reposed in them, and apostacy to their principles: that, considering there is no power of man to appeal to for such a breach of trust, they are warranted in exercising that common judgment which is left to them in their natural capacity—appealing to the common understanding of mankind for the approbation of their conduct, and, above all, to the righteous judgment of God: that their purpose was to preserve as much of the present representative as might preserve the forms of parliamentary proceeding, till a new constitution was introduced: that they should still rejoice if the majority, sensible of their late misconduct, should exclude the apostatized members from their councils; but that, in the meantime, though for no profit to themselves, the army was advancing to London. This declaration was, by the appointment of Fairfax and his council of officers, subscribed by the famous collector Rushworth; but, on the very next day, Fairfax directly wrote to the mayor and common council, that, being on the immediate advance to the metropolis, he thought fit to intimate his intention; and that, as the declaration of the army

had not been answered, it was only necessary to refer to it for the motives of the proceeding; that it was not the object to commit either the least plunder or wrong to any of the citizens; yet that it would be advisable, in order to prevent any disorders, for the city to advance L.40,000 of the arrears due; and he would quarter the troops in the great houses in and about the city. The demand of the money was confirmed by the parliament, which ordered the army not to advance nearer London*.

In the meantime, the general and council of officers had sent to remove the king from Newport to Hurst-castle, intimating to Hammond, the governor, their purpose to keep him there till their remonstrance was answered. News of this arrived on the 4th of December; and the commons, upon reading Hammond's letter announcing the event, voted that it was neither by their advice nor their consent: and, that they might now bring matters

King re-
moved to
Hurst Cas-
tle.

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 266—272. 288. Cob. vol. iii. p. 1137. 1144-5. After such a declaration, in addition to the remonstrance and letter, and the letter to the mayor, under Fairfax's hand, together with the fact of the army's having actually advanced to Westminster under that general on the 2d of December, and the purging of the house on the 6th, we can scarcely believe that human assurance could proceed so far as to permit Fairfax to allege that he knew nothing of the matter till it was done; that the army did what it pleased, &c. The memoirs, I flatter myself, have therefore been interpolated: But some say that he was over-persuaded by Ireton. Over-persuaded—what is the meaning of the term? Was he a responsible agent? or might he not be over-persuaded afterwards by his courtly friends, the language of the times, and his own interest—to deny the truth? Whitelocke, p. 358.

to a conclusion in order to break the army, they, on the following morning, voted that his majesty's concessions to the propositions of parliament afforded sufficient ground for settling the peace of the kingdom. They also nominated a committee to confer with the general about a fair correspondence. This at once brought matters to a crisis, and Fairfax and his council determined not to lose an instant. He therefore caused proclamation to be made by trumpet, requiring all delinquents to depart ten miles from London for a month, as they should otherwise be proceeded against as prisoners of war. He also issued another ordering the soldiers, on the pain of severe punishment, not to offer incivility to any one; nor, on the pain of death, to touch any man's goods, (orders admirably obeyed by this excellently disciplined army,) and immediately marched towards the metropolis. One regiment of horse, commanded by Colonel Rich, and another of foot, by Colonel Pride, were specially destined to act against the parliament. As the foot regiment was necessarily brought most into action, the reproach of the proceeding has most undeservedly been altogether transferred to Pride, who, though the measure accorded with his own judgment, acted on the orders prescribed by Fairfax, as well as the other officers. Pride stationed his troops in the Court of Requests, and other places about Westminster-hall, and having received a note of the individuals to be seized, who were pointed out to him by Lord Grey of Grooby, a nobleman who zealously assisted on the

Army
marches to
London and
purges the
parliament.

occasion, he apprehended the individuals, and sent them guarded to the Queen's Court, the Court of Records, and other places, all "*by special order from the general and council of the army.*" The house being informed of this proceeding, used the ceremony of sending for the members; and the committee that had been dispatched to the general, reported that his excellency had desired time to consult with his council about the answer. Proposals were then presented from the army, reminding the commons that certain members who had been impeached and expelled the house, had yet, by the prevalence of a faction, been lately restored to their seats; and stating that they humbly desired all faithful members to protest against such proceedings, and to be prepared to put a speedy end to their sitting. Another paper drawn by Ireton, and proposing a form of government, was at the same time presented, differing little from that known by the name of the agreement of the people: it suggested that the representation should consist of 300, equally elected by householders, upwards of twenty-one years of age, and according to a fair distribution of their numbers throughout the kingdom; that a parliament should be chosen every second year; and that all malignists should be excluded for the present*.

As nothing was done on this petition, we shall,

* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1147, *et seq.* Old do. vol. xviii. p. 293, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 358, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 234, *et seq.* Hallis' Mem. Rush. vol. vii. p. 1350, *et seq.*

before proceeding to other matters, give a short sketch of the character of Ireton.

Character
of Ireton.

Henry Ireton, son-in-law of Cromwell, and commissary general, was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Nottinghamshire, being the eldest son of German Ireton of Attenton, Esq. in that county. He was born in 1610, and in 1626 was sent as a gentleman commoner to Trinity College, Oxford: in 1629 he took his degree of bachelor of arts. Having passed through this liberal course of education, he became a student of law in the Middle Temple; but whether he ever practised at the bar, or intended to prosecute the profession, I have not been able to discover. It was very common in that age for the heirs of distinguished families to be sent to the Inns of Court to complete their education, it having been wisely conceived that they who, from their rank, were destined to perform the part of legislators, should have some knowledge of jurisprudence, or of that science which it was their province to protect and improve; and it is not improbable, nay, from all I can learn, I think it most likely, that Ireton, like Hampden and other illustrious individuals, had, as the heir of the family, studied in the Middle Temple, to qualify him to discharge the duties of a conspicuous station in life. But if, on the other hand, he meant to devote himself to the legal profession, he continued too short time in it to acquire distinction, having, at the outset of the civil wars, obtained a command in the parliament army. Of a great capacity, and unwearied

industry, he had not ostensibly studied the law without acquiring a considerable knowledge of the science; and a speculative head, uncramped by drudgery in the profession, enabled him to view the jurisprudence of his country with the eye of a philosopher, who, aware of the general value, is yet not blinded, like the ordinary practitioner, to defects which the pride of knowledge is apt to overlook. Ireton, therefore, early devoted his attention to free the law from its cumbrous forms, to have the whole reduced to a proper digest, and, what would have been of incalculable value to England, to establish registers for all titles of land, or deeds affecting it.—As a soldier, the benefit of a liberal education manifested itself in Ireton, as well as other commanders of that age. Some have not scrupled to affirm that, in the military department, where he displayed great courage, he was superior to Cromwell himself*; but though that

* In order to convey the idea of want of personal courage in Ireton, (and he shewed his valour on many occasions,) Clarendon says that in the debate during the summer of 1648, Hollis and he came to high words; and that Hollis having challenged him, he refused to fight, alleging his conscience would not let him, when Hollis answered that, if his conscience would not allow him to fight, it should not let him insult a gentleman, and pulled his nose. Had this been the fact, it would only have proved that Ireton had too much principle to allow himself to be hurried, by the fear of reproach, into an act against the dictates of his conscience; for none who is acquainted with his history can doubt his personal bravery. But the statement, probably the invention of Hollis himself, who continually accuses his adversaries of cowardice, is unfounded. Both Ludlow and Hutchinson agree in stating, as if the matter were undoubted, that Ireton accepted of the challenge. Hollis whispered it in the house, and the other followed to terminate the matter in the usual way, when some of the members having ob-

is most probably an exaggeration, nothing proves the power of his mind more than the deference invariably shewn to him by Cromwell, whose ascendancy was acknowledged by all other men. With great capacity, indefatigable assiduity, and striking power of expression, both in speaking and writing, joined to a character for consistency and uniform uprightness, he could not fail to acquire influence over the minds of those with whom he came in contact. He did not obtain a seat in parliament till 1646, but he soon rendered himself eminent there. So long as accommodation with the king appeared practicable, he eagerly endeavoured to accomplish it; and when a thorough proof of the unhappy monarch's want of good faith, at length convinced him that no treaty could be relied on, he at first only proposed that Charles should himself be imprisoned, and the crown placed on the head of the Duke of York; but the continual plots of the king, and the danger which his life threatened to every arrangement for securing the privileges of the people, ultimately convinced him that a system which should free them from bondage to the evil passions of an individual was necessary; and that an example ought to be made of the grand offender, who, by trampling on all those laws which he had been appointed and sworn to maintain, had already brought so many calami-

served what passed, acquainted the house with it, and the serjeant having been instantly dispatched to command their attendance, arrived in time to stop them as they were about to cross the Thames. Ludlow, vol. i. p. 244, 245. Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 147.

ties on, and still threatened innumerable more to, his country. It may, indeed, be argued with truth, that the form of government which Ireton proposed, was not calculated to attain the object which he meditated ; but on a new and unprecedented occasion, mistaken opinions ought to be forgiven. Nor can it with justice be said, that he was guilty of departing from the ancient monarchical institution. By attempting to overturn the laws of his country, Charles had thrown all things loose, and people were imperiously called upon to make some new arrangement in order to secure those rights and privileges which had descended to them from their ancestors. It is, however, singular, that the idea of passing by the lineal successor, in consequence of his improper principles, and yet electing a member of the family, by which it was supposed that the power of the people would be established on the one hand, while usurpers, in consequence of such a small departure from the usual course of inheritance, would be repressed on the other,—was afterwards urged by Whitelocke, St. John, and others, and ultimately adopted at the revolution. It is believed that had Ireton lived, Cromwell would not have dared to usurp the government, or would have been quickly repressed ; for that, such was the inflexibility of his principles, he would not have respected an usurper in the person of his father-in-law, more than in any other individual. So remarkable was his disinterestedness, that had his premature death not obstructed his purpose, he would have declined the grant of two thousand

a-year which was ordered for his services, and conferred on his family*.

* Whitelocke was rather offended with Ireton for his attempt to reform the law; yet he does justice to his talents, courage, and integrity. Mem. p. 252. 516. Even Clarendon admits, that Ireton was no dissembler, and so true to his principles, that, had he lived, Cromwell would not have ventured to usurp the government. Vol. vi. p. 467, 468. As to his character for gentleness and inflexible worth, see Ludlow, vi. p. 340. 61. 71. 81. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 81. Fasti Oxon. vol. i. p. 865. Hutcheson. See Cromwell's Life of Cromwell, p. 450. Noble's History of the Protectoral House of Cromwell. This last writer has very little judgment, and as little research, but he brings a few well-known particulars together.

The character of Ireton by Hume is singular: "Cromwell had great deference for the counsels of Ireton; a man who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the saint, had adopted such principles as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded license in human society." It is scarcely possible to conceive, what in logic is termed a *non sequitur*, more complete than that here presented in this short passage. Did it really follow, that, because Ireton had studied the laws of his country, and fought in its defence, and sincerely believed in the Christian revelation—he had adopted such principles: "as were fitted to introduce the severest tyranny, while they seemed to encourage the most unbounded license in human society?" We have stated, in the text, what was the usual course of education in that age for men in a high sphere of life; and that Ireton had not, by drudgery in his profession, contracted his understanding. But we may observe that, though professional practice may injure an ordinary mind, it never will subdue a great one. Of this, the works of Bacon, who had a profound knowledge of the law, however he violated the justice it inculcated, will ever afford an illustrious proof; and Hume's own favourite, Clarendon, was a professional man, besides others whom he eulogizes. To those who fully estimate the character of Lord Somers, too, the notion relative to Ireton must be particularly surprising; and one is amazed to find Laing, himself a lawyer, and yet an historian, almost repeating Hume's words; but perhaps he found it easier to repeat other people's sentiments than to think for himself; and sitting down to history as a mere party man, he viewed every thing through the medium of the party he espoused.

We shall now return to Charles. Hurst-castle, to which he had been latterly carried by the orders of Fairfax, was situated on the mainland, oppo-

It may be remarked, however, that the study and practice of the law have a decided tendency to produce an effect on the mind directly the reverse of that stated by Mr. Hume. The mind of a mere lawyer—by such I mean an individual of ordinary capacity, who cannot rise above his profession, and for such Hyde himself expressed great contempt; informing us, that Whitelocke and others, though profoundly versed in law, were all of a higher stamp—is so crippled by cases, that he never can think without a precedent to direct his judgment. As to Ireton's grafting the statesman on the saint, he certainly did so with benefit to mankind, for it taught him this most important truth—that the consciences of men, in the service of their God, ought never to be interfered with, provided their principles are not subversive of the safety of civil society; that persecution generally encourages what it is intended to repress; and that no form of ecclesiastical government has been prescribed by the author of revelation to the exclusion of all others. What we learn of Ireton, however, from the best authorities, and the very able papers which he drew up, would induce us to believe that he was one of the most exempt of his time from any thing like cant or fanaticism. Anthony Wood, indeed, tells us, that he was reckoned *the best preacher and prayer-maker* of the army; but honest Anthony, as he is called, lived in a region of bigotry—where every thing connected with the name of Ireton was likely to be traduced, and where prayers, however excellent in themselves, that were not to be found in the service book, were regarded with horror; and he had imbibed all those prejudices to their full extent; while, in spite of his character of honest, it would be no difficult matter to show, as in his account of Digby's affair at Kingston-upon-Thames, that he had no objection to a pious fraud. On this subject, however, the following passage from Whitelocke's account of his embassy to Sweden may not be unacceptable. "It is a conversation with the Queen Christina.—*Queen.* I have been told that many officers of your army do themselves preach and pray to their soldiers. Is that true?—*Whitelocke.* Yes, Madam, it is very true. When their enemies are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging, the officers and soldiers of the parliament's army use to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the word of God, and praying together to the Lord

site to the Isle of Wight; but was not nearly so beautiful a residence as Carisbrooke-castle. The accommodations were not becoming the guest;

of Hosts for his blessing to be with them, who hath showed his approbation of this military preaching by the successes he hath given them.—*Q.* That's well. Do you use to do so too?—*W.* Yes, upon some occasions in my own family; and think it as proper for me, being the master of it, to admonish and speak to my people when there is cause, as to be beholden to another to do it for me, which sometimes brings the chaplain into more credit than his Lord.—*Q.* Do your generals and other great officers do so?—*W.* Yes, Madam, very often, and very well. Nevertheless, they maintain chaplains and ministers in their houses and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers, have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as in any place of Christendom. Yet, it is the opinion of many good men with us, that a long cassock, with a silk girdle, and a great beard, do not make a learned or a good preacher, without gifts of the spirit of God, and labouring in his vineyard; and, whosoever studies the Holy Scriptures, and is enabled to do good to the souls of others, and endeavours the same, is no where forbidden by that word, nor is it blamable. The officers and soldiers of the parliament's army held it not unlawful, when they carried their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to encourage one another out of His word who commands over all; and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have; and was never denied to be of use but by the Popish prelates, who by no means would admit lay people (as they called them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can no where else be found.—*Q.* Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon. I assure you I like it very well.—*W.* Madam, I shall account it a great happiness if any of my words may please you." *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 252, 253. Such is the account given by the great lord commissioner Whitlocke, of whom Hume himself talks in the highest strain, and surely none will venture to call him a fanatic. But, if any layman were entitled to preach, it must have been an individual so highly educated and of such a great capacity as Ireton. Hear the language of Clarendon: "Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter; and men who were inspired preached and prayed where they would." Vol. v.

but every means were taken to render his situation as comfortable as possible. Few of his attendants were indeed admitted; but Lieutenant-Colonel

p. 116. Mighty offence against religion and morals! The remainder of the character given by Hume, is as discreditable to the writer as unjust to the subject of it. As we are on the topic of religion, we may remark in regard to Hume, that one at first sight is apt to be startled at the opinion expressed by him (when he gives the account of Laud's trial and death) relative to the nakedness of worship in the Church of England, considering the tendency of his writings in general, and the attacks which he so often indulges in against the clergy. One would almost imagine that he had the same object in view with that ascribed to the unhappy subjects of his panegyrics—that of beginning, by making men irreligious, in order to prepare them for superstition—or for that mental subjection to the priesthood which might contribute to the uncontrolled power of the prince. I cannot refrain here from remarking, that his case affords a proof, that a man suffers more from the injudicious conduct of his friends, than the open attacks of his enemies. One can easily conceive how, not only without any intention to injure society, but even under an impression that he was promoting its interests, he might publish the result of his own conviction on the most important points of human speculation; and it must have been to the astonishment of every man who desires to think highly of his memory, to find a letter from his nephew to the editor of the Quarterly Review, with information calculated to convey the idea that the uncle had thrown out several notions for the amusement of the speculative, while himself was fully convinced of the truth of what he assailed. No one who respects his memory would wish to give it credit, nor indeed is it consonant with his private correspondence, or all we know of his conversations; for what opinion must we entertain of any man who can publish opinions calculated to subvert the faith of thousands, in a religion which he himself conceives a belief of essential to their eternal welfare?—See Quarterly Review, for October, 1810.

To return to Iretton: Anthony Wood informs us, that at the university, he had the character of being saucy to his seniors; and that, therefore, his company was not much sought after. This is just what we should expect of a great and generous mind. The insolent and overbearing, to those whom they regard as their inferiors, are always

Cobett, "to give him his due," says Herbert, "was very civil to the king, both in his language and behaviour, and courteous to those that attended, upon all occasions; nor was his disposition rugged towards such as in loyalty and love came to see the king and to pray for him; as sundry out of Hampshire did, and the neighbouring counties." The conduct of this officer proved a contrast to that of a captain who received his majesty at landing. This man's look was stern, his hair and large beard black, and bushy, "and no less robust and rude was his behaviour," acting with all the assumed consequence of a base mind, that feels itself suddenly invested with a little brief authority. "Some of his majesty's servants were not a little fearful of him; and that he was designed for mischief, especially when he vapoured, being elevated with his command, and puffed up with having so royal a prisoner, so as he probably conceived that he was nothing inferior to the governor of the castle at Milan; but being complained of to his superior officers, appeared a bubble; for, being pretty sharply admonished, he quickly became mild and calm—a posture ill be-

despicably mean to their seniors, or as such as they deem their superiors. A generous mind, on the other hand, disputes the claims to respect of many with whom it comes in contact; and cannot purchase the good opinion of seniors by the ready smile of assent. Such a person thinks for himself, and will not flatter by receiving and repeating other people's sentiments without examination. Fielding, who was such an admirable master of the human heart, has happily depicted this in the characters of Blifil and Tom Jones.

coming such a rhodomont, and made it visible that this humour, (or tumour rather,) was acted to cur-ry favour, wherein also he was mistaken *." The walk allowed the king was about two miles in length, but only a few paces broad, and is said to have been covered pretty deep with gravel or small pebble, which rendered it disagreeable to the feet †.

It was at last determined to remove the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and Colonel Harrison, afterwards major-general, was deputed to bring him up. Harrison was the son of a grazier in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-under-Line. He had been early articked to a Mr. Hoselker, an eminent attorney in Clifford's Inn, who had employment under the king. When the young gentlemen in the inns of court were formed into companies under Sir Philip Stapleton, Harrison was one; and such was his general talents, aptitude for war, and faithful discharge of his duty, that, long before the new model, he had been promoted to the rank of major ‡, and had acquired a high character as a sol-

Harrison sent to bring Charles from Hurst-castle to Windsor. Character of Harrison.

* Herbert, p. 86.

† Herbert, p. 84, *et seq.*

‡ Clarendon says, that he was only a captain before the new model; and Noble tells us, that he had attained no rank before it; but the following passage in a letter by Baillie, dated London, July 6th, 1644, to Mr. Robert Blair, is conclusive. He says, in relation to the battle of Marston Moor, "we were both grieved and angry that your independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpet over all the city their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all the service." Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 40. Clarendon is

dier. Ardent in religion, even to enthusiasm, he was open and generous in all his actions. The same individual who had contributed to raise Cromwell, (there was scarcely any man in whose judgment and talents, to which his professional habits contributed much, Cromwell had more confidence,) immediately attempted to overthrow him when he discovered the selfishness of his designs. Whatever opinions may be formed regarding the political and religious opinions of Harrison, it is impossible not to admire the rectitude of feeling that actuated him; for he was not one of those who aimed merely at their own aggrandizement, or were influenced by personal resentment; neither was he amongst the number of such as the after change, with all its motives of fear on the one hand, and hope on the other, could induce to disavow his sentiments. At the Restoration, he refused to withdraw himself, though informed of the intention of his adversaries, and advised by his friends to consult his safety in flight. "He accounted such an action," says Ludlow, "a desertion of the cause in which he had engaged; though many precepts and examples might be produced, even from the Scriptures, to justify men who endeavour to avoid the cruelty of enemies and persecutors by removing themselves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a desertion of the cause, when men disown it to save

incorrect in regard to the early situation, or the birth-place of Harrison; but he does justice to his talents and general fair intentions, while he disproves the story told by Burnet, of his having entertained an idea to assassinate the king. *Clar. vol. v. p. 246.*

their lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful means in order to promote it. But shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the major-general, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified for the part he had in the following sufferings, that even his enemies were astonished and confounded *."

Harrison arrived at Hurst-castle late in the evening, and his majesty having heard the drawbridge let down and the horses enter, sent his attendant Mr. Herbert to inquire the cause of the noise. Herbert went to Captain Reynolds, who informed him of the arrival of Harrison, but refused, at this time, to say more than that the cause of his arrival would be speedily known. Herbert returned with the intelligence to his majesty, who received it with much discomposure. Herbert wept; and Charles having asked the cause, and been apprised that it arose from the perturbation he had observed, proceeded thus: "I am not afraid, but do not you know that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty? To my knowledge I never saw the major, though I have oft heard of him, nor ever did him injury. The commissioners, indeed, hearing of it, represented it from Newport to the house of lords; what satis-

faction he gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I trust in God who is my helper; I would not be surprised; this is a place fit for such a purpose. Herbert, I trust to your care, go again and make farther inquiry into this business." Herbert returned to Reynolds,—who was a gentleman well educated, as Herbert himself informs us, and had not only shewn great personal civility to the king, but to all his servants, and had therefore generally been selected by his majesty to walk with him,—and was apprized by him that the object was to remove the king within two days to Windsor. The news were received with great satisfaction, Windsor being a place the king had ever delighted in*.

Harrison stayed two nights at Hurst, and then departed at night without seeing the king, or speaking with any of his attendants. All things having been prepared for his removal, Charles was conveyed to Milford, about three miles from Hurst-castle. There a party of horse, which had been sent for winter quarters to Lind-Hurst, conveyed him to Winchester, where he was received with the most dutiful respect. From thence he rode to Alton, and then to Alesford, where his reception was as gratifying as at Winchester. "From Alesford the king passed to Farnham, betwixt which two towns (being about seven miles asunder), another troop of horse was in good order drawn up, by which his majesty passed: it was to bring

* Herbert, p. 91—94.

up the rear. In the head of it was the captain, gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet montefit was on his head, a new buff coat on his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waist, richly fringed*; who as the king passed by with an easy pace, (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed,) the captain gave the king a bow with his head *à la soldade*, which his majesty requited. This was the first time the king saw the captain. Mr. Herbert, riding a little behind the king, (who made no use of his coach since he came from Hurst-castle) he called him to come near, and asked him who the captain was; and being told it was Major Harrison, the king viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him, as made the major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended†. The king said he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and found him not such a one as was represented; and that, having some judgment in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opi-

* Mrs. Hutchinson accuses Harrison of having been too fond of dress, and on one occasion of having acted rather disingenuously towards her husband on that head. But Hutchinson might be unjustly piqued; and though upon the whole a very worthy character, he had not the ingenuousness of Harrison, as may fairly be seen in their respective conduct at the restoration. I rather think too, that the town's people, and others of Nottingham, appear from the lady's own shewing to have been often right in the bickerings with her husband.

† This surely is a striking proof of a proper feeling of delicacy.

nion of him; for oft times the spirit and disposition may be discerned by the countenance; yet, in that, one may be deceived *." That evening his majesty lodged in a private gentleman's house in Farnham; the castle, which belonged to the bishop of Winchester, being then garrisoned with soldiers, and consequently unfit for his accommodation. A little before supper the parlour was full of company to see the king; but he having observed through the crowd, Colonel Harrison, talking with another officer at the far end of the room, "beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer to him; which he did with due reverence;" (that is, he addressed his majesty on his knee;) "the king then taking him by the arm, drew him aside towards the window, where, for half-an hour or more, they discoursed together; and amongst other things the king minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person; to which the major in his vindication, assured his majesty that what was so reported of him was not true; what he had said he might repeat; that the law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect of persons; or words to that purpose; which his majesty, finding affectedly spoken, and to no good end, he left off farther conversation with him, and went to supper, being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoicing to many to see him so cheerful

* This presents a favourable picture of Charles.

in that company and such a condition." It is extraordinary, that, though both Charles and his attendants were fully satisfied that Harrison disdained the very thought of assassination, and that the cause of the mistake was thus explained, the false report was afterwards revived to blacken the memory of him who was, with such circumstances of cruelty, executed as a traitor, while the bones of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others, were dug from their graves to be exposed on a gibbet. The cause of his speech having been taken up, was that he had been more unreserved than the other officers in the expression of sentiments, which yet, before the king's removal from Hurst-castle, were, as we have seen, embodied in a remonstrance to the parliament by Fairfax and his council; and that the presbyterian party in parliament, eager to conclude a treaty with the king and dissolve the army, caught hold of this circumstance as a pretext for rendering the soldiers odious.

On the following day the king rode from Farnham to Bagshot, where he dined at Lord Newburgh's; and here we are told by Clarendon, though the circumstance does not appear to have been communicated to the king's immediate attendant Herbert, that there was a design to effect an escape, by laming his majesty's own horse, and supplying him with one from his lordship, (who was reckoned to have the fleetest in England,) by which he might be able, in his passage through

the forest, to bolt off from, and outride his guard, when in the obscure passages of the forest, with which he was particularly acquainted, he might be lost sight of; and that other horses were in readiness to convey him to a place of safety. The design, however, having been suspected by Harrison, had been sufficiently provided against, and Charles abandoned the attempt. In the evening he reached Windsor-castle, where the chambers had been prepared for his reception*.

* Herbert's Memoirs, p. 95 to 99. Clar. vol. v. p. 246 to 249. The noble historian tells us, that Harrison* received the king with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness." Again he says; "in this journey Harrison observed, that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it; he plainly told him that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish such an intention; and assured him that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in the way of justice, to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence: which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people under any form whatever of a public trial." We may remark, that Clarendon's account of Harrison's conduct, is not so favourable to that gallant officer as Herbert's; but that, as Clarendon was not then in England, he could only receive his information from those who attended his majesty: and that as Herbert was the person most immediately in waiting, he probably derived it from that very individual. This account, however, does credit to himself when compared with that of Burnet, who says that Harrison "was a fierce and bloody enthusiast. And it was believed that,

Colonel Whitchcott was at this time governor of Windsor-castle, and, though none of the nobility, and few of the gentry, were suffered to come to see The situation of Charles at Windsor.

while the army was in doubt whether it was fitter to kill the king privately or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was settled on, to be the man who should do it." Burnet's Hist. vol. i. Now, who were they who believed this? Clarendon says, that it had been acknowledged since, (that is, *after the restoration*;) by some officers and others, who were present at the consultations; that some advised to depose the king, others to cut him off privately; but Ireton, Harrison, and the levellers, would not endure either way, but insisted on an open trial; vol. v. p. 251, 252. Clarendon was, however, no great enemy to assassination himself, and not slow at blackening his enemies. When we consult Whitelocke, and others, we have no reason to doubt that such an idea never entered into the imagination of the army. That it was utterly abhorrent from the whole life and disposition of Harrison, (to whom the term bloody could not, with the slightest justice,—unless it be alleged that his having sat as one of the king's judges, form an exception,—be attributed,) is evident from Clarendon, Herbert, and others, as well as the evidence on his trial. Even Burnet allows that he was conscientious; and his general deportment was that of humanity. But here I cannot omit a few observations relative to Burnet himself, since an attempt has lately been made, particularly by Laing, to prop up his character. Laing repels the objections brought against him by Hume and others, by alleging that he had compared Burnet's works with a great number of manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, and found them to be generally correct. This is a sweeping statement: I admit that there is much valuable information in Burnet; but I cannot proceed so far, and particularly in his sketches of characters. Swift and he were great enemies; and it is singular that both had been apostates from their original principles, though the course had been directly reversed betwixt them. Swift set out a pretended enthusiast in favour of public liberty, and not only flattered Lord Somers, whom he afterwards abused, because he did not help him to office and emolument, but even made an epigram in honour of the execution of Charles I. as the most glorious deed; and yet, afterwards, spoke with fury against that monarch's adversaries, and with admiration of "the blessed, martyred, prince," and his churchman Laud. What overtures Swift subsequently made to the reigning party we need not mention: the utter profligacy of his political principles is scarcely a sub-

his majesty, except on Sundays to sermon, in St. George's chapel, where the chaplain to the governor and garrison preached; "the colonel be-

ject of doubt. What, on the contrary, was the course of his enemy Burnet? He began a violent tory, and ended an admirer of revolution principles. The question immediately put on this statement is—What! is it wonderful, or is it discreditable, for a man to become a convert to more liberal principles as he advances in life? Unquestionably not; though, for my own part, I should entertain a more favourable opinion of a man who commenced with very liberal principles, and became, in the progress of life, cooler in all his views, than of one who begins as a supporter of arbitrary power, and is converted into a warm advocate of liberty, when it happens to correspond with his interest, or to arise from some disappointment. Youth is not only the season of generous feelings, but for indulgence in prospects of happiness to mankind, which a sad experience of the world, with all its conflicting interests, fatally overclouds. But this is not all that can be said of Burnet. He was the panegyrist, not only of Charles I. of whom he afterwards spoke in such unfavourable terms, but of Charles II. whom he subsequently likened to Tiberius; and even of the detestable, infamous Duke of Landerdale himself. Had he been sincere in his early principles, he would have had some charity for those who continued to adhere to them. But instead of that, he invariably imputes to them the worst motives,—whence we may fairly deduce that he must have judged of them from what he felt in his own breast. Nor can it even be said, that the affairs had undergone a change—because he condemns, in the most unqualified terms, the very actions and actors he had formerly approved of. Even this is not all—in his memoirs of the Hamiltons he stamps with his approbation the most downright acts of perfidy, as pious means towards a worthy end. When the revolution in his principles took place, and how it quadrated with his interest, we shall not pause to explain. It is amazing, however, that the bishops of England were not satisfied even with the toryism of Burnet; and therefore attempted to prevent his writing a history of the reformation. He desired to be admitted to the Cotton Library; but, according to his own account, was "prevented by the archbishop, (Sancroft,) who told Sir John Cotton that Burnet was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or the constitution of the kingdom." "This judgment," says Swift, "was the more extraordinary, because the doctor had not long before published a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the royal

haved himself, nevertheless, very civilly towards the king, and his observance was taken notice of by his majesty, as also the soldiers there, who, in

prerogative higher than any writer of the age." Nichol's edition of Swift, vol. v. p. 62. It is remarkable, however, that this story by Burnet, which was generally questioned, I discovered by a letter in the British Museum from Sir William Dugdale to Sir John Cotton, dated Herald's Office, 20th December, 1677, (Aysc. 4162 No. of vol. 62,) to be perfectly correct. Dugdale had been applied to by Cotton in behalf of Burnet, for access to papers, and Dugdale answers, "that the bishops do not think Burnet a fit hand; that he is a Scotchman, and has shown his bias in the Memoirs of the Hamiltons, laying the foundation of the late execrable rebellion entirely on the bishops. Dugdale, therefore, desires Cotton to tell him that he, being no Englishman, he (Cotton) must advise with the bishops." This is surely a valuable proof of the unconscionable lengths these men would have gone; for the memoirs had been submitted to Charles II. himself, and approved of by him. To return to Harrison, Hume says: "Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London." With regard to the birth of Harrison, there are two accounts of it; and as Clarendon is wrong in regard to the early life of that individual, we may conclude that, in the torrent of filth which was poured forth on all those characters, where birth was ever assailed, and the grossest calumnies on that head invented, the most favourable account—that his father was a respectable grazier—is the correct one. But the statement of Mr. Hume is intended to convey a misrepresentation under what he had an authority for calling truth. The natural inference is—what Hume ever attempts to inculcate—that Harrison, and others in employment, had been raised from mean occupations to high offices, merely by rant and fanaticism. One would never imagine, from his statement, that Harrison, who had been bred to a liberal profession, had received the education of a gentleman, had associated with gentlemen, and had so profited from the opportunities presented to him, that with his great talents he could not fail to rise to distinction wherever the road was open to merit. To the credit of the English government, there are, at this moment, in the highest situations,—and, though not disposed to panegyric, I must say, that it would have been a disgrace to any government which would not have afforded an opportunity to some of those to rise,—persons from an inferior sphere of life. Hume's statement, indeed, reminds us of the base

their places there, gave no offence, either in language or in behaviour, either to the king or any that served him." Charles had full liberty to walk at his pleasure within the castle, and on the large terrace without, which commands so beautiful a prospect*.

We now return to the parliament and army. Many of the members, besides those seized, were refused access to the lower house, which, having been thus purged, recalled the vote for admitting the impeached members, and returned to that of no more addresses, while it also voted that the late treaty in the Isle of Wight was scandalous†.

malignity of Swift in regard to Lord Somers—the subject of his former panegyrics. In remarks on the characters of the court of Queen Anne, the original author of the characters says of Lord Somers, that "he was of a creditable family in the city of Worcester." Swift writes under it, "very mean; his father was a noted rogue." vol. v. p. 164. Thus does Swift write of one of the greatest characters that England ever produced, and whom he had courted with the meanest sycophancy. The character of Somers was beyond his power; but he would wound him by slandering his father, whose obscurity rendered the vindication of his good name difficult. Yet Swift was himself of low origin. "The lowest of all wretches," says Fielding, "are always the first to cry out low in the pit."

* Herbert, p. 101. This conveys a very different picture of the parliamentary officers and soldiers, from that generally given; yet it proceeds from the royal attendant. But he appears to have had too much the spirit of a gentleman to do injustice to any extent to his enemies.

† As Pride was the officer who acted in secluding the members, the obloquy of the transaction, as we have remarked, has been unjustly imputed to him in a more eminent degree than to Fairfax and his other superiors, as well as to a great number of the House of Commons, and a part of the peerage; and, to render him the more odious, he has been represented as having been originally a drayman, though it is also stated that he had raised himself to the rank of a brewer before the troubles. But all acquainted with the misrepresentations, regarding the birth

About this period a consultation was held amongst the leading men regarding the constitution of a new government; and many who thought that monarchy, as most agreeable to the habits of the people and general fabric of the laws, ought to

A consultation about the trial of the king.

of individuals who acted at that time on the popular side, will pay small attention to this story. Out of such as rose to that eminence as to render their birth a subject of strict inquiry, a few have reluctantly received something like justice from history; but even these have only obtained it, because their original rank was too public to be long disputed. The memories of the rest have incurred all the consequences of failure in a grand contest. But, though Pride had been of low birth, ought that to form an objection to him? The majority of the chief officers, and other great actors, were men of rank as well as education—even Colonel Rich, who was deputed to act along with him, though his regiment of horse was not required—was a man of family, and bred a barrister. Nay, a great portion of the common soldiery were men of some rank; Cromwell's regiment of horse was composed of freeholders and freeholders' sons, who engaged out of conscience. High, therefore, must any man's talents have been who could distinguish himself amongst such competitors—competitors with all the advantage of even parliamentary friends. It is one great excellency of a free government, that merit meets with its just reward, and such was the necessary result of the present contest. Was there any spirit so mean as to grudge the rise from the lowest rank to the highest of some of our bravest naval commanders during the late war? But even arbitrary princes find it expedient, nay, necessary, to employ new men in the administration of their government. Did those men, however, who are so loud in calumniating the popular party, find the want of birth to be any objection in the courtiers—as Laud? Davenant, too, the poet—the army-conspirator; and great favourite of the court, was the son of a tavern-keeper, and had lost his nose by dissipation. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who was at one time keeper of the great seal, and afterwards created archbishop of York, was of low birth; and the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Downe, was the son of a barber. Hume seems to think that genius or talent could only legitimately rise through a court, or by literature—and the last he would have laid under the protection of a court, which would have palsied it. The profanation of learning he mortally disliked.

be preserved, advised that Charles should be set aside for his gross abuse of power, and the prince, for having been in arms against the people of England, and also the Duke of York, as having fled from their custody; but that the crown should be placed on the head of the Duke of Gloucester, who, as a mere boy, might easily be trained up in, and imbued with, the principles of a free government, and, owing the throne to the election of the people, might conduct the affairs of the state according to the law which made him monarch. The majority, however, conceiving that, by a better arrangement, and frequent changes, in the representation, the public will might be properly expressed by the parliament, and that, as the national council, thus the organ of the public will, ought to be supreme, it was unsafe to commit authority to an individual who, from what they had just experienced, would probably conceive his interest different from that of the people, and always endeavour to promote it at their expense, by frustrating, to the utmost of his power, the measures of the parliament,—proposed to lay aside monarchy entirely, and conduct the government by committees, or a council nominated by the parliament, according to the plan so successfully pursued from the commencement of the late struggle. It was, at the same time, determined on to bring Charles to trial, and petitions in favour of the measure were brought from various quarters*.

* Whitelocke, p. 364, and compare it with passages relative to events after the king's death, p. 516, 517.

The commons in pursuance of the design to bring Charles to trial, nominated a committee of thirty-eight, to examine witnesses and prepare a charge against him. The committee sat close,

Commons
appoint a
Committee
to prepare
the charge
against
Charles.

Hume puts a speech, as uttered in the house of commons, into Cromwell's mouth, for which he quotes no authority. The first part is taken from Clement Walker, a writer so absurdly violent, and so regardless of truth, as to be unworthy of much consideration. The alleged speech of Cromwell is; "should any one have voluntarily proposed to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion." Here Walker, whom Hume does not even quote, stops, (*History of Independency*, Part II. p. 54;) but then follows in Hume's work, this: "Even I myself," subjoined he, (Cromwell,) "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered the preternatural movement as the answer which heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications." I would ask, how even the first part, as given by Walker, corresponds with the general conduct of Cromwell, (*Clar.* vol. v. p. 116, 141.) with what he urged as to the vote of no more addresses? (see our note in p. 123,) with the large remonstrance of the army, &c. &c. But whence does Mr. Hume extract the last part of this pretended speech? I beg the reader's attention: For if ever an instance of unpardonable imposition was practised, it occurs here. Walker's account of what passed in the house, from which he was excluded, is manifestly fabricated; and it is evident, that could he have ventured to proceed a step farther, without exposing his work to utter contempt, he would have done it. Now, what does Hume do? He finds the following passage in Perinchief, and he manufactures it to suit his own purpose. "Cromwell, to some, would have covered this impiety with another"—(the reader will remark, that neither time nor place is hinted at, while the word some clearly proves that it never could be meant to insinuate that it was "in the house," as Hume says)—"that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertakings to restore the king to his pristine majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more, which he took

Charge
against
Charles.

and an impeachment was framed to the following effect. "That Charles Stuart being admitted king of England, and therein intrusted with a limited power to govern by, and according to, the laws of the land, and not otherwise; and by his trust, oath, and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the

as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being king," p. 69. No one that ever looked into Perinchief would give one straw for any unvouched statement of his, particularly when neither time, place, nor person—all which, as he wrote after the restoration, could have been specified,—are even insinuated. But I must develop a little artifice. Mr. Hume knew well that, as never was period more the subject of misrepresentation than this, even ministers of the gospel of high degree comparing the sufferings of Charles to those of Christ, nay, as more unjustifiable, and feigning miracles as performed by handkerchiefs dyed in his blood, so there are some authors whom, by quoting, he would have exposed himself to ridicule. Of this description are Perinchief, and Lloyd, whom he only refers to, I think, once; and yet he, in some important places, almost transcribes from them, particularly the first, making their language his own, without ever giving a reference at all, or giving a wrong one.

Immediately after the pretended speech of Cromwell, there occurs the following passage: "A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions." For this he quotes Whitelocke, whose words are these: "A woman out of Hertfordshire came to the council of the army, and acquainted them she had something from God to speak to them, and being admitted, she did much encourage them in their present proceedings." P. 356. Now all that know the style of the age must admit that the meaning of the passage is only that she used encouraging language, not that they were encouraged. But Hume makes a good story of it. The reader will find in Herbert a notable proof of superstition on the part of Charles and his attendants, p. 87. See Perinchief, p. 82, 114.

people, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties: yet nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, yea, to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which, by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, were reserved on the people's behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive parliaments, or national meetings in council; he, the said Charles Stuart, for the accomplishment of such his designs, and for the promoting of himself and his adherents, in his, and their wicked practices, to the same end hath traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people therein represented." It then proceeds to enumerate and specify the several places where battles were fought; it next states that he had caused the war to be renewed, and goes on thus: "by which cruel and unnatural wars, by him, the said Charles Stuart levied, continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much innocent blood of the free people of this nation hath been spilt, many families have been undone, the public treasure wasted and exhausted, trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expenses and damages to the nation incurred, and many parts of this land spoiled, some of them even to desolation; and for further prosecution of his said evil designs, he, the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his commissions to the said prince his son, and other rebels and revolvers, both English and foreigners,

and to the Earl of Ormonde, and to the Irish rebels and revolvers associated with him; from whom farther invasions upon this land are threatened, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the said Charles Stuart. All which wicked designs, works, and evil practices, of him, the said Charles Stuart, have been, and are carried on, for the advancement and upholding of a personal interest of will, power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest, common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation, by and from whom he was intrusted as aforesaid. By all which, it appeareth that the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is, the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars; and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damages, and mischiefs to this nation, acted and committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby." This charge was voted by the commons, and a provision was made against the king's refusing to plead, while a vote was passed adjudging and declaring it to be treason in time to come to levy war against the parliament. When, however, the ordinances were sent up to the lords, they declared themselves unsatisfied regarding the collective power of the nation to bring the king to trial, and, to avoid a disagreement, adjourned for ten days. But the commons having appointed a committee to inspect their journals, discovered that there were votes recorded, which they had concealed, against the ordinances, and, therefore, they (in which they only

Ordinance
for the trial,
&c.

followed out an intimation that they had sent up before the civil wars, and by no less a man than Denzil Hollis himself,) determined to act without that body as sitting in parliament for their own behoof only, while themselves represented the community at large. In conformity to this purpose they passed the three following resolutions: "First, that the people are, under God, the origin of all just power; secondly, that the commons of England assembled in parliament, have the supreme authority of this nation; thirdly, that whatever is enacted and declared for law by the commons of parliament, hath the force of law, and all the people of the nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the peers may not be had thereto." These were passed without a negative voice, and an ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart by a high court of justice, specially constituted, was consented to and ordained to be engrossed on the succeeding day. The commons thenceforth styled themselves the parliament. A new seal was likewise ordered, bearing on one side the arms of England and Ireland, with these words, "The great seal of England;" and on the other side the picture of the house of commons, with the words, "The first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored, 1648." The inscription was imputed to Henry Martin, who was a keen commonwealth's man*.

The Scottish commissioners having heard of the

Scottish
Com-
mis-
sioners pro-
test against
the trial.

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 488, *et seq.* Cob. vol. iii. p. 1252, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vii. ch. 34. Whitelocke, p. 365, *et seq.*

ordinance for the trial, sent to the commons a letter, in which they protested against it, and pressed for that unity of councils and actions between the two kingdoms which had been so studiously provided for by the solemn league and covenant; but their representations were disregarded.

Commissioners for the trial, conduct of Fairfax, &c.

There were in all a hundred and fifty commissioners (some of the lords and commons, officers of the army, aldermen of London, and gentlemen from the counties,) nominated by the parliament for the trial of the king, and twenty were to form a quorum; but there do not appear to have sat above eighty-one of the number appointed, and never above seventy-one at one time. The absence of the rest has been by many writers ascribed to abhorrence at the proceeding; but if we may credit others who had better opportunities of knowing, and whose statements are corroborated by the subsequent conduct of the absentees, they were influenced by prudential motives only. The measure itself formed a new era in the political world; and the present government could not be supposed to have the stability of an old established one. On any fresh revolution the grand actors in this event were the most likely to be selected for victims; and as there was no compulsion used, and no loss of favour threatened to those who absented themselves, many perceived that, while by absence they should not incur the danger of the act, they might derive (as they did) all the advantages of the measure. Lord Fairfax himself, who had very lately declared his desire of bringing the king to justice, sat once as a commis-

sioner in that court to prepare matters for the trial, and assented to what was done, whence it cannot be denied that he fully sanctioned the institution of that judicature, and its authority over the individual whom it was specially appointed to try*; but, after this, he sat no more, and therefore has been ranked amongst the chief of those who would take no part in the proceedings,—though he did not scruple to continue in his office, and acknowledge the new government.

The inconsistent conduct of Fairfax on that occasion has been ascribed to the influence of his lady. He had been himself attached to the independent principles; but she having been gained over by some presbyterian divines, excluded the independent clergy from his presence, and unceasingly laboured to convert him to her principles. It is not, however, improbable, that other motives swayed both him and his consort. Though not an English peer, he was now, on the death of his father, a Scottish one; and most likely was attached to the title which he inherited. The parliament had determined to make his father an earl, both to reward his own services, and, through him, those of his son; and had the ordinance which was voted been established, the general would now have held that rank; but as the measures of the commons were now destructive of the upper house, his ambition had received, in that particular, a fatal blow. He still held the chief command in the

* Howell's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 1054. This fact has been unaccountably overlooked.

army; yet the character of Cromwell, with the parliament, the army, and the nation at large, surpassed his own; and, in the council of officers, he found his influence subordinate to that of Cromwell and Ireton. He had, besides all this, the same prudential motives as the others: still he had the candour at the restoration to acknowledge, that if any man ought to suffer for the death of Charles, it should be himself, as he might have prevented it had he chosen.* It has been said that those who acted as commissioners in this high court of justice, were almost entirely men of mean extraction †; but it is only necessary to inspect the list to be satisfied of the contrary: there

* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 10. Hutchinson's Mem. vol. ii. p. 101-2. 154, *et seq.* This lady informs us that Ingolby, who afterwards pretended that Cromwell and other officers, having put a pen into his hand by force, made it scrawl the signature, was the most forward in urging on the trial. With regard to Fairfax, she has this just statement: "Then also a declaration to the same purpose was presented to the house, from the Lord General Fairfax and his council of officers; and strange it is, how men that could afterwards pretend such reluctancy and abhorrence of those things that were done, should forget they were the effective answer of their petition."

The motives which influenced Lord Willoughby of Parham, may have affected Fairfax at the king's trial. Lord Willoughby, a man of talent, courage, &c. acted as Lieutenant-General to Essex, and was voted to be an earl, but "having taken a disgust at the parliament's declining of a personal treaty with the king, and being jealous that monarchy, and consequently degrees and titles of honour, were in danger to be wholly abolished, he was forward," &c. Whitlocke, p. 324.

† The scurrility of the scum of the royalist party is truly ridiculous. They pretend that all were low: one or two of them were cobblers; some, too, adulterers; others atheistical, &c. &c. But Sanderson has the highest flight of all. "If it were necessary to prove it," says he, "it was reported for truth, there was one man, and no man, or rather of double sex, an hermaphrodite." P. 1121. Perin-chief, p. 81, *et seq.*

were three lords, five baronets, five knights, and the remainder, with two or three exceptions, were members of old and highly respectable families. The president, John Bradshaw, serjeant at law, was of a very ancient family, though his fortune was chiefly of his own acquiring, by talent and industry in his profession. Even the most liberal of his enemies allow the depth of his knowledge and the extent of his legal practice. Amongst his own party, his character, not only for professional ability, but for general information, unimpeachable integrity, and dauntless resolution, was remarkably high. The parliament had appointed counsel to plead for the people of England; and John Cooke was nominated for the occasion, solicitor-general; and Dr. Dorislaus, originally a native of Holland, Mr. Steel, and Mr. Aske, his assistants. As the character of Cooke has been grossly misrepresented, he having been pronounced not even a member of the bar, and unlettered, it may be necessary here to present an account of him. Cooke had, in his younger years, seen the best parts of Europe; and during his stay at Rome, had acquired such a reputation, that the clergy there conceived it worth their while to use their endeavours to bring him over to their interest. He afterwards spent some months in the house of G. Deodati, the learned friend of Milton; and having, on his return to England, been called to the bar, soon acquired a considerable practice in the profession.

Character
of Brad-
shaw.

Character
of Cooke.

* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 69, 70.

In the meantime, petitions were presented from various quarters, to proceed in the execution of justice. As, however, neither Charles himself, nor his immediate followers, conceived it possible that he could be brought to trial, he gave himself no concern about the proceedings; and declared that he had no doubt whatever of seeing peace established in England within six months; for that in case the parliament should not restore him, or Ireland vindicate his rights, Denmark and other foreign states would. It was only after he was brought into Westminster Hall, that his eyes were opened to the delusion which had been, in no small degree, the cause of the wilfulness that had all along scorned concession, and caused so many disasters to a people whose laws he had been appointed to administer.

State preserved by
Charles at
Windsor.

During Charles's residence at Windsor, he lived in all the state of a monarch: his usual diet was "kept up;" "Sir Fulke Grevile being cup-bearer, gave it upon his knee; Mr. Mildmay was carver; Captain Preston sometimes sewer, and kept the robes; Mr. Anstey, gentleman usher; Captain Burroughs, Mr. Firebrass, Mr. Muschamp, had their places; Captain Brimer was cook; Mr. Babington, barber; Mr. Reading, page of the Back Stairs; and some others also waited. The king's dishes were brought up covered, and all things performed with satisfaction in that point." He was now brought to St. James's, preparatory to his trial, and at first dined publicly in the presence

chamber, and at meals, was served after the usual state, the carver, cup-bearer, and gentleman-usher, attending and doing their offices respectively; his cup was given upon the knee, as were his covered dishes; the say was given, and other accustomed ceremonies of state observed, notwithstanding this his dolorous condition; and the king was well pleased with the observance afforded him. But then the case was altered; for the officers of the army being predominant, gave order at a court of war, that thenceforth all state ceremony or accustomed respect to his majesty should be forborn, and his menial servants, though few in number, be lessened. And accordingly the king's meat was brought up by soldiers, the dishes uncovered, no say, no cup upon the knee, nor other accustomed court-state was then observed; which was an uncouth sight unto the king, saying, that the respect and honour denied him, no sovereign prince ever wanted; nor yet subjects of high degree, according to ancient practice; farther expressing, Is there any thing more contemptible than a despised prince? But seeing it was come to such a pass, the best expedient he had to reconcile it, was to contract his diet to a few wishes out of the bill of fare, and to eat in private*."

* Herbert's Mem. p. 101, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 251-3. White-
locke, p. 363, *et seq.* But he must be wrong as to the time when
ceremony was ordered to be withdrawn from Charles. He makes it
on the 27th December, while the king was at Windsor; but Herbert,
though he would have the king to be longer at St. James's than he
was, (such mistakes are not wonderful,) could not be wrong as to the
ceremony having been used at the latter place.

Trial of
Charles be-
gins 20th
January,
1648-9.

On the the 20th of January 1648-9, Charles was brought before the high court of justice for trial. He went into the inside of the bar covered, and

We have been the fuller in our quotations, to shew the mistatements generally made on this subject. Warwick, when compared with Herbert,—who he erroneously says was appointed to the king, for Charles himself gave a certificate to the contrary, (Herbert is ever loud in Charles's praise, and was afterwards made a baronet,)—will be found to misrepresent strangely. Perinchief says that Charles, who used to have his beard, which he wore long, neatly picked, neglected it at the Isle of Wight; but he had his barber, and was too fond of state to allow that; yet this is represented in glowing colours by other historians, who, to depict a heart surcharged with woe, and estranged from the world; (though he was at the time intent on only plunging the nations again in blood;) have dwelt upon the circumstance without even warning their readers that the beard which they say he allowed to grow, was worn long. His stiff, cold, formal manner, and fondness for state, which were unaccompanied with the majestic grace of a Lewis XIV. to set them off, raised up against him many enemies. It is said that the younger Vane, having, at an early period, gone accidentally, into a chamber of state, which those only of a certain rank were permitted to enter, no sooner heard the approach of the king's foot, than he hid himself behind the curtains, but Charles having observed something bulge out, poked him out with his staff, and immediately struck him. He turned away so abruptly too, from Sir Thomas Fairfax, in the act of presenting a petition on his knees, that his horse trampled on Sir Thomas's foot. Carte's Ormonde, vol. i. p. 356, 357.

We may now put to the proof the verses which Burnet alleges were written by Charles in Carrisbrooke Castle. The 20th and 21st stanzas run thus:

20. "My life they prize at such a slender rate,
That in my absence they draw bills of hate,
To prove the king a traitor to the state.
21. Felons obtain more privilege than I,
They are allowed to answer ere they die,
'Tis death for me to ask the reason why."

N. B. The bills alluded to in the first stanza were drawn after his arrival at Windsor. The second stanza relates to an event, which

the judges, who would otherwise have lifted their hats, also retained theirs. He sternly looked both on the court and the audience, but paid not the slightest respect to the tribunal. The president having commanded silence to be proclaimed, addressed the prisoner, stating, that the commons of England assembled in parliament, being deeply sensible of the mischiefs and calamities that had been brought on the nation, and the innocent blood which had been shed—whereof he was accused as the principal author—had resolved to make inquiry for this blood; and, according to the debt they owed to God, to justice, to the kingdom, and to themselves, and in conformity to that fundamental power which belonged to them, and the trust reposed in them by the people—other means failing through his default—had determined to bring him to trial and judgment; and had, therefore, constituted the present court of justice before which he was now summoned, and where he would hear the charge on which the court would proceed. Mr. Cooke, as solicitor for the people of England, stood up to read the impeachment, when Charles, gently touching him on the shoulder with his staff, commanded him to forbear. Even then he was firmly persuaded that the court durst not proceed to sentence; but a trivial incident was re-

even Clarendon assures us he never conceived to be possible, till he was actually brought into Westminster-Hall. When verses were forged, something decent in point of talent, genius is out of the question, ought to have been framed; but these are, taken altogether, the most sorry jingle. *Burnet's Mem. of the Hamiltons*, p. 391-3.

garded by his followers as an unfavourable omen ; and, from the deep impression it made on his own mind, appears to have first opened his eyes to a truth which all other circumstances had failed to convince him of* :—The silver head of his staff fell off while he was in the act of touching Cooke's shoulder, and one of his attendants having stooped to lift it up, it rolled to the opposite side, and Charles was obliged to stoop for it himself. The president, in opposition to the king's command, ordered the counsel to proceed ; and the charge was read. While Cooke read the charge, Charles was observed to smile, and the circumstance was, according to the difference of feeling in the spectators, ascribed to different motives. His friends, probably with the greatest truth, conceived that it indicated a contempt of the power assumed over him : his adversaries imputed it to the satisfaction that he felt at the recital of the blood shed by him for the re-establishment of his own usurped power ; and they

* Herbert, p. 115. Warwick, p. 339, 340. This omen must have overcome a favourable one at Oxford. Charles had always "a large cake of wax" set in a silver bason to burn all the night. It went out, and the Earl of Lindsay, who slept in the chamber as his attendant, observed, that it had gone out, but durst not, for fear of disturbing his majesty, rise to relight it. He then fell asleep, and when he awoke he observed the lamp burning bright, and in his astonishment he mentioned the circumstance to Charles, who told him he had remarked it himself, and considered it as a prognostic of God's power and mercy towards him or his ; that although he was at that time so eclipsed, yet either he or they might shine out bright again. Perin-chief, p. 114. Lloyd, p. 174. We have also referred to it in Herbert, who, however, merely mentions it as having learned it from the person to whom he, in the epistolary style, writes his *Memoirs*. See an instance of Carte's own ridiculous superstition, in his *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii. p. 54, 55.

thought that the same feeling was farther testified by his general conduct, as he neither evinced remorse nor pity for the calamities which he had brought on his country.

Instead of answering to the charge, Charles demanded by what authority he was brought thither; stating, that he had been engaged in a treaty with both houses of parliament, and had nearly concluded it when he was carried from the Isle of Wight: "Now," says he, "I would know by what authority, I mean lawful; there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the high ways; but I would know by what authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, and I know not what; and when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your king, your lawful king, and what sins you bring on your heads and the judgment of God on this land; think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go farther from one sin to a greater: Therefore, let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer. In the meantime, I shall not betray my trust; I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent, I will not betray to answer to a new and unlawful authority: Therefore, resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me." The president told him, that if he had attended to what was hinted when he entered into court, he would have known the authority: That it was an authority in the name of the people of England, of which he was elected king. Charles

denied that he had been elected, declaring that the kingdom of England had been hereditary for nearly a thousand years, and that he stood more upon the liberty of his people than any that came there to be his pretended judges. After some more conversation, in which he persisted in denying any authority over him, he was conducted from the court.

As he was brought to court on the next occasion, some of the soldiers and the rabble cried out, "justice, justice, execution;" and they repeated the brutality on his return from it. "Here," says Whitelocke, with generous indignation, "we may take notice of the abject baseness of some vulgar spirits, who seeing their king in that condition, endeavoured, in their small capacity, further to promote his misery, that they might a little curry favour, and pick thanks of their then superiors. Some of the very same persons were afterwards as clamorous for justice against those that were the king's judges." One of the soldiers, however, stepping out of his ranks, said, "God bless you, Sir." The king thanked him, but the soldier's officer struck him with his cane, upon which his majesty remarked, that the punishment exceeded the offence. The officer (Col. Axtell) suffered capitally afterwards upon this charge amongst others; and though all this matter, greatly exaggerated indeed, was fully brought before the court for the trial of the regicides after the restoration, some of the royalist writers, who published subsequently to that event, have not scrupled to say that the sol-

dier was killed on the spot. Regarding the cry for justice, Charles, after his return home, having asked Herbert whether he heard it, who answered that he did, and " marvelled thereat,"—said, " so did not I, for I am well assured that the soldiers bear no malice to me. The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like were there occasion." But to the credit of the soldiery, and all concerned in the business, Charles was, even according to the statement of Herbert, treated at all other times with the utmost kindness, compatible with his situation *.

* As Herbert is an authority beyond all question, I have strictly followed him. Clarendon and Warwick say, that one of the soldiers spit in the king's face; but such a piece of brutality never could escape Herbert, and they, as they were not even in the kingdom, ought to have derived their information from him, particularly as it is confirmed by others, as by Whitelocke. See, too, the sort of evidence on this head in the trials of the regicides. Howell, vol. v. p. 1151, 1215. But their account could not of course satisfy Mr. Hume, whom even any royalist of that age could scarcely outstrip. The theatrical remark attributed to Charles—poor souls, for a little money they would do as much for their commanders,—though to be found in Rushworth, was evidently copied from Perinchief, and others of his stamp; since the very individual to whom Charles made the remark, reports it in a manner very different from the sanctified light in which, to make it accord with the Eikon, it has been represented. But Hume proceeds thus—" Some of them were permitted to go the utmost lengths of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face as he was conducted along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of piety was the only effect which this inhuman insult was able to produce upon him." He quotes no authority, yet he had one; but such a one as he was ashamed to refer to. The reader shall have it in the original. " At his departure, he was exposed to all the insolence and indignities that a phanatick and base rabble, instigated by Peters and other instructors of villany, could invent and commit; and he suffer-

Several times was he brought before the tribunal, arguing that there was no power on earth that had jurisdiction over him, who was answerable to God only for his actions; that, even supposing the

ed many things so conformable to Christ his king, as did alleviate the sense of them in him, and also instruct him to a corresponding patience and charity. When the barbarous soldiers cried out at his departure, *justice, justice—execution, execution*—as those deceived Jews did once to their King, *crucify him, crucify him*; this prince in imitation of that most holy King, pitied their blind fury, and said, poor souls! for a piece of money they would do as much for their commanders. As he passed along, some in defiance spit upon his garments, and one or two, (as it was reported by an officer of theirs, who was one of their court, and praises it as an evidence of his soldiers' gallantry, while others were stupified with their prodigious baseness,) polluted his majestic countenance with their unclean spittle."—The reader will remark how this hangs together; the whole rests upon the pretended report of a nameless officer who applauded it, and yet this writer, who knew it only from the nameless officer,—an officer, too, that applauded the deed,—can notwithstanding tell us how all the others felt; but the conclusion of the sentence is the most extraordinary of all—"the good king, reflecting on his great example and master, wiped it off, saying, "my Saviour suffered far more than this for me."—Did the author derive all this from the nameless officer? He does not even pretend it, and yet he sets out with telling us, that he got all his information on the subject from that nameless individual. "Into his very face they blowed their stinking tobacco, which they knew was very distasteful to him; and in the way where he was to go, just at his feet, they flung down pieces of their nasty pipes,—such as pulled off their hats, or bowed to him, they beat with their fists and weapons, and knocked down one, but for crying, *God be merciful unto him.*" *Life by Perinchief*, prefixed to king Charles's works, p. 88. It is curious that this passage was marked by Mr. Hume himself, opposite the words, poor souls for a piece of money, &c. See Milton's prose works regarding the story about the soldier being killed, &c. *Def. Sec. pro Pop. Angl.* vol. v. p. 344.

Perhaps I ought here to say a few words about the evidence in general which was adduced at the trial of the regicides. The Restoration was the hour of signal triumph to the reigning party, who returned with infuriated passions; and as every imposture had been resorted to, even by divines, to render the commonwealth-party odious,

two houses of parliament had authority over him, which he denied; yet that the house of lords, which constitutes an essential part of the legislature, had

so now, every stigma was encouraged, not only in triumph over fallen enemies, but to prevent their rising again;—irreligion, and utter indecency, as well as profligacy of manners, as the reverse of theirs, became fashionable. But to make the death of Charles appear to be the act of a few, the collected torrent of abuse was directed against those who were arraigned as regicides, and men who had been the most impudently violent against the unfortunate Charles, were now the most forward, both to save their own lives and curry favour, (for the road of preferment was chiefly open to those who could blacken the late ruling party most,) to act as the principal witnesses against their former associates. The accused, on the other hand, were, after a long close confinement, suddenly brought into court, marked, too, for destruction, without the assistance of friends or counsel. Counter evidence they could not adduce, without involving their witnesses in nearly their own danger; and none of them, except Peters, who adduced one to speak to a simple fact, and he was not sworn, attempted it. But of what use would exculpatory evidence have been, when Axtell was addressed thus by the Chief-baron: "Mr. Axtell, you know the strength of one affirmative witness, 'I saw such a man, and heard such a man say, &c.' is more than if twenty should witness they stood by, but did not see him, nor hear him speak." Howell's *State Trials*, vol. v. p. 1166.—That the witnesses perjured themselves, is quite evident from a comparison of their testimony with the accounts of Herbert, Berkeley, and others, who, as keen royalists, cannot be supposed to have fallen short of the truth. But, indeed, the temper of the witnesses may be seen in their testimony; yet their conduct was at least equalled by the indecency of the court. By the way, the reader may perhaps not know that Algernon Sidney sat as one of the commissioners in the high court of justice.

Herbert, p. 113-14. Whitlocke, p. 373-4. *Clar.* vol. v. p. 255, says, that "the mob called the king, tyrant, murderer; some spit in his face, which his majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief." There is here none of the pious reflection. But that the story, though repeated by Warwick, p. 339, and Sander-son, p. 1132, is altogether untrue, no one who consults the most undoubted authority—that of the king's own attendant, with Whitlocke and Rush, vol. vii. p. 1425, &c.—can doubt.

not concurred; and that, granting that the people of England had the authority, yet that the opinion of every man, down to the meanest subject, ought to be taken. Bradshaw interrupted him in these discourses, telling him that the authority of the court—which had proceeded from the supreme power of the state, the voice of the people as expressed by their representatives—was not to be disputed; that if he demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, the plea was overruled, for that they had considered of their jurisdiction and confirmed it. The court was twice interrupted by Lady Fairfax: when some asked where Lord Fairfax was,—he had sat as one of the commissioners preparatory to the trial,—she exclaimed that “he had too much wit to be there!” a remark fully verified by the event; and when Bradshaw told Charles that he was brought there by the people of England, she cried out, “not by a half or a quarter of them;” and the interruption to the court was likely to be attended with serious consequences, when the female was discovered to be the Lord General’s wife. On the third occasion, when Charles was before the court, he told them that he valued not the charge a rush,—that it was the liberty of the people of England that he stood for; that, as a king, he ought to be an example to all the people of England to uphold justice; and he would never, by owning a new authority, commit a breach of that justice which he owed to God and his people, to maintain as far as in him lay, the ancient laws of the kingdom. Bradshaw having repeated.

ly warned him that the default to plead would be recorded, addressed him thus; "Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned the court, and put an affront upon it: how far you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoken it; but truly, Sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions; you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the kingdom." Ludlow tells us, though the fact is not recorded elsewhere in any account of the trial, that, to Charles's repeated assertions that he was responsible only to God, Bradshaw answered that, "seeing God had by his providence overruled that plea, the court was determined to do so likewise." At the two next meetings, witnesses were called to prove that he had been in arms against the people of England in various places; but the deposition of most consequence was that of Henry Gooche of Gray's Inn, who said that, "on the thirtieth of September last, having access to hold discourse with the king at Newport, he told him that, since his majesty had justified the parliament's taking up arms, by consenting to the preface of the bill, he did not question but most of the presbyterian party, both soldiers and others, would stick close to him. To which the king answered, that he would have all his old friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the parliament leave to call their own war what they pleased, yet that he did neither then, nor ever should decline the justice of his own cause. Moreover, upon the deponent saying that the bu-

siness was much retarded through want of commissions, the king made answer, that being upon a treaty, he would not dishonour himself, but that if the deponent would go over to the prince his son, (who had full authority from him,) he or any from him, should receive whatever should be desired." This evidence, if it had stood alone, might not, at such a juncture, have been entitled to credit; but when we collate it with the private letters which Charles was writing at the very moment, we have no reason to doubt it, and it is just an additional proof of that unfortunate want of faith in this prince, which rendered it utterly impossible to bind him to any law or condition.

When the trial was nearly brought to a close, Charles desired to be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber, and it was generally thought that he meant to resign the crown in favour of his son. Some of the court were for granting the request, but others, to prevent the appearance of division, proposed to adjourn, which was carried, and, in about an hour, the court returned with an answer, that the king's request could not be granted. Sentence of death, by severing the head from the body, was then pronounced. On giving sentence, Bradshaw dilated on the king's misgovernment, stating, that by law, which was superior to kings, they were accountable for their conduct, and instanced the case of many monarchs who had been deposed and imprisoned by their subjects, particularly in Charles's native country, where, out of a hundred and

Sentence
pronounced,
27th Jan.
1648-9.

nine, the greater part had either been dethroned, or proceeded against for misgovernment; and even the prisoner's own grandmother removed, and his father, while an infant, crowned in her stead. The sentence having been read by the clerk, Charles desired to be heard; but, as the sentence had now passed, his request was refused*.

Two hours after his sentence, which was pronounced on Saturday the 27th of January, Charles was conducted to St. James's, where he continued till the morning of Tuesday thereafter, on which he was executed. The king had desired the assistance of Dr. Juxton, formerly bishop of London, in his meditations, and his request was granted†. There came also to him Messrs. Calamy, Vines, Carlyl, Dell, and some other ministers, (it may be remarked that these were hostile to the present proceeding against him,) "who presented their duty, and their humble desires to pray with

* Rush. vol. vii. p. 1396, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 370. Ludlow, vol. i. p. 276, *et seq.* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 155. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 252, *et seq.* Howell's State Trials, vol. iv. p. 994, *et seq.* and particularly for Gooch's evidence, p. 1090.

† Peters, who is so much reviled, was employed by Charles to intimate his desire of having Juxton. This individual, of whom we shall afterwards have occasion to speak more at large, said on his trial, in answer to the evidence of his having ridden before Charles between Windsor and St. James's, "like bishop almoner," that he was commanded by the king to ride before him, that Bishop Juxton might come to him. What is extraordinary is, that it was allowed by the court that Peters had been employed on such a service, but three weeks later. Peters had been very anxious to preach before Charles while he was with the army, but the king, though he courted him, denied that.

him, and perform other offices of service, if he would be pleased to accept of them." Charles returned them thanks for their love to his soul, and hoped that, in their addresses to God, they, and all his other good subjects, would be mindful of him; but told them, that having chosen Dr. Juxton, whose piety, learning, and ability to administer spiritual comfort, he had experienced for many years, he had resolved to take his assistance only. These ministers were scarcely gone, when Mr. John Goodwin, an independent clergyman, presented himself on the same account; Charles thanked him also for the tender of his service, and dismissed him with the like friendly answer*. During the very short time which he had

* Herbert, p. 117, *et seq.* This conduct was equally becoming in the unfortunate Charles and the clergy, yet their conduct is alleged by Perinchief to have proceeded from inhuman motives. Some authorities, supported by the evidence on the trial of Hacker, say, that Charles was carried to St. James's on Sunday morning; but Herbert could scarcely be wrong.

"Every night during this interval," (from the sentence till the execution,) says Hume, "the king slept sound as usual; though the noise of the workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually resounded in his ears." As Hume's own marks are still in the copy of Herbert's Mem. belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, and now on my table, it has been well observed that he could have no excuse for following such a writer as Clement Walker, who is contradicted by every other. See Laing and Fox's Letter to him in Introduction by Lord Holland to Fox's history. But Laing might have gone farther; for Clement Walker does not bear Hume out, and so refutes himself as to leave no apology for not perceiving the groundlessness of the statement. After stating the fact of the king's having been disturbed *all Saturday and Sunday* night by the strokes of the workmen, he proceeds thus, "Tuesday, 30th January, 1649, was the day appointed for the

now to spend on earth, he employed himself in devotion, and in taking farewell of his friends and family. His nephew, the prince Elector, with the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsay, visited him, and received his commands. Such of his children as were in England were admitted to him, to take a last farewell, and the scene was, as might be supposed, an affecting one. Charles bestowed upon them many good advices, particularly as to the duty which they owed to their eldest brother as king.—The prince, who was in Holland, urged the States to interpose by their ambassador to save his father's life, or, at least, defer the execution; but their interposition, as well as the protest of the Scottish commissioners, who argued that they had a right and interest in the preservation of his majesty's person, was fruitless*.

The warrant for execution was signed on Monday the 29th, and the place assigned for the awful

king's death: *He came on foot from St. James's to Whitehall that morning.*" Hist. of Independency, 2d part, p. 110.

* The story told by Hume, of Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsay, having offered themselves for execution to save Charles, rests entirely on the authority of Perinchief and Lloyd, which, if true, it never could have done; but it is clearly a fabrication. Indeed, they could not but know that such an offer would have been scouted at. The account of the language used by Charles to the young Duke of Gloucester, and the child's reply, as detailed by Mr. Hume, without referring to an authority, is taken from Lloyd, p. 212, and doubtless also a fabrication. Hume wisely abstains from mentioning such an authority. The reader will recollect, that I account Kennet's History no authority whatever, because it is only valuable in so far as it supported by references.

catastrophe was the banqueting-house at Whitehall, which was prepared for the occasion by opening a window, that he might walk out to a scaffold erected before it. Serious apprehensions were entertained either of an escape or a rescue; and it is said by Clarendon, that great care was taken to change the guard almost daily. After sentence, Colonel Hacker, who commanded the guards, intended to have placed two musketeers in the chamber; but Dr. Juxton and Mr. Herbert prevailed upon him to alter that resolution, and allow Charles the privacy which his rank and situation required.

Having slept about four hours on the Tuesday morning, Charles awoke before day, and called for Herbert, who reposed on a pallet by his side. He had always a large "cake of wax," which, set in a silver bason, burned during the whole night, and as by it he perceived that Herbert was disturbed in his sleep, he desired to know his dream. The other repeated it, and Charles having declared it was remarkable, said, "Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim to-day as may be; for, before night, I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." He then appointed the clothes he would wear, and said, "Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared." Juxton joined them at an appointed hour, and as-

sisted Charles in his devotion; after which the fallen monarch delivered to Herbert some presents for his children, accompanied with advice for their future conduct *.

As the hour approached, Hacker knocked gently at the door; but Herbert would not stir to ask who it was, and he knocked a second time a little louder. Charles then, guessing the business, desired his attendant to go to the door, when Hacker intimated his wish to speak with the king. Charles having himself said, let him come in, "the colonel, in a trembling manner†, came near, and told his majesty it was time to go to Whitehall, where he might have some farther time to rest." The other bade him go forth and he would be ready presently; and at the next warning, (about ten o'clock,) went out with becoming firmness. Several companies of foot were drawn up in the park as a guard on either side as he passed: a body of halberdiers went both before and behind him; on his

Charles conducted from St. James's to Whitehall for execution, Jan. 30, 1648-9.

* Herbert, p. 124, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 367, *et seq.* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 286. Warwick gives an account of what passed with Juxton, which, he says, he had from that prelate himself, not quite so creditable to the royal martyr. The words of Charles are, "We will not talk of these rogues in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." "When he had taken the eucharist, he rose from his knees with a steady countenance. Now, says he, let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." P. 341. 343. The reader may, from the language, rather think this a bastard sort of forgiveness.

† Herbert, p. 132. Does this look like the conduct of a man who would be insolent? See for a similar instance, p. 122.

right hand was Juxton; and on the left was Colonel Tomlinson, with whom he conversed on the way. The drums beat all the time. His majesty, says Herbert, heard many of the crowd pray for him, "the soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting*." At Whitehall he took a small quantity of bread and wine, and fully prepared himself for the last melancholy scene. About

Execution.

noon he was brought upon the scaffold, where he addressed the spectators; telling them that he would have held his tongue were it not that, as some might impute his silence to an acknowledgment of guilt, he deemed it a duty to God, his country, and himself, to vindicate his character as an honest man, a good king, and a good Christian. He commenced with his innocence, upon which he said it would be unnecessary for him to enlarge, as all men knew that he neither began the war nor intended to encroach on parliamentary privileges:—He imputed the war to the parliament, in their proceeding about the militia, though he ascribed their conduct to evil instruments between them: That, with regard to the blood which had been spilt, he could not charge himself with it, though he reckoned his fate a just retribution for the death of Strafforde: That as to his being a good Christian, he appealed to Juxton, whether he had not heartily forgiven his enemies; and

* Herbert, p. 181. but more than once, in the course of the execution, he declared that he felt a great deal of remorse for the blood which he had shed.

that his charity went farther, as he wished them to repent of the great sin they had committed, and bring back matters to their legitimate channel: That, as they had no pretext for the quarrel, so they had nothing to plead but conquest; and "then," says he, "it is a great robbery; as a pirate said to Alexander, that he was a great robber, himself but a petty one." That things would never be well till God had his due, the king his, and the people theirs: That, as for the regal power, the laws would instruct them what it was; and as to the people's liberty, it consisted in being governed by the laws, not in having any share in the government; the rights and duties of a sovereign and a subject being different things. He concluded in these words: "Sirs, it was for this that I am come here, if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and, therefore, I tell you, and I pray God may not lay it to your charge, that I am the martyr of the people. In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will only say this to you, that in truth I could have desired some time longer, because that I would have put this that I have said in a little more order and a little better digested than I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse me. I have delivered my conscience. I pray God that you may take those courses that are best for the good of the kingdom and your own salvation." At the desire of Juxton, he declared that he died a pro-

testant according to the doctrine of the church of England. His hair he put under a satin night-cap, with the assistance of Juxton and the executioner; and he evinced his presence of mind, by desiring some of the spectators who passed near him, to take heed of the axe. His hair having been adjusted, he turned to the bishop, and said, "I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side." The bishop replied, "there is but one stage more; this stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one; but you may consider it will carry you a great way—from earth to heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort." "I go," said Charles, from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be." Bishop,—“You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange.” Having requested the executioner, who was in a visor, to put him to as little pain as possible, and bid him strike when he held out his hands as a sign, he used the word “remember” to Juxton, (which the prelate said was intended to caution his son to forgive his enemies*,) and laid

* See what Milton says on this subject, *Prose Works*, vol. v. p. 244. The parliament, or ruling men, troubled themselves little about the matter; and if it related to such an injunction, it was shamefully disregarded. Rush. vol. vii. p. 1429-30. Whitlocke, p. 374-6. Herbert, p. 134. The account given by Mr. Hume, in regard to an alleged fresh instance of hypocrisy on the very day of the king's death, and the conduct of Fairfax, together with the part assigned to Harrison, is worthy of an author who, when he took up the pen to vindicate this misguided monarch, appears to have thought himself as much absolved from the fundamental law of history, as the subject

his head upon the block. The executioner performed his office at one stroke; and another person, likewise in a mask, cried out, "Here is the

of his panegyric conceived himself to be from the law of the land which alone gave him a title to reign. He quotes Herbert; but the author that he really follows is Perinchief. We shall give Herbert's own words. "Mr. Herbert during this;" (that is, during the execution), "was at the door lamenting; and the bishop coming thence with the royal corpse, which was immediately coffined, and covered with a black velvet pall, he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the back stairs to be embalmed. Meantime they went into the long gallery, where chancing to meet the general, he asked Mr. Herbert how the king did? *which he thought strange, (it seems thereby that the general knew not what had passed, being all that morning, as indeed at other times, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred some days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and fully resolved with his own regiment, to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design;)* but being with the officers of the army, then, at prayer or discourse in Colonel Harrison's apartment, (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the privy garden) his question being answered, the general *seemed* much surprised; and walking farther in the gallery, they were met by another great commander, Cromwell, who knew what had so lately passed; *for he told them they should have orders for the king's burial speedily.*" Herbert, p. 135-6. Now the reader cannot have failed to remark a little incongruity in this passage. First we are told that the general had been employed all that morning, as he had been for some days previous, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred, and therefore had forborne to come among the officers; and yet, in the same breath, we are told that he had been all that morning with them in prayer or discourse: In the second place, it is perfectly evident that Herbert did not mean to convey that he derived his information of Fairfax's conduct from himself, as to his having been employed in attempts to stop or delay the execution, because he merely inferred that Fairfax did not know of the fact from his having asked how the king did, (a question of this kind, where a man out of delicacy wishes to signify more than he expresses, may easily be misconceived,) and from his having *seemed* surprised. Had Fairfax been imposed upon, and generously resented what had passed, would not he have said so in as many words?

head of a traitor." Many wept at the sad spectacle; many strove to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in that of a martyr. Misery is always

But Cromwell comes to them, and at once tells them that they should have orders for the king's burial speedily: and I would ask, could he have possibly done this, unless upon the assumption that Fairfax knew what had just taken place? And would not Fairfax,—who, as one of the bravest men that ever existed, would not have been afraid to utter his sentiments, (indeed he could have no cause for fear,)—directly have charged Cromwell with the measure? Yet he does not utter one word expressive of his disapprobation. Now let us hear what Hume says on the subject. After stating that Fairfax had even employed persuasion with his own regiment to rescue the king from his disloyal murderers, he proceeds thus: "Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him that the Lord had rejected the king; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven on this important occasion: but they concealed from him that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement he prolonged his devout cant, till intelligence arrived that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax that this event was a miraculous and providential answer, which heaven had sent to their devout supplications." For all this Mr. Hume quotes the passage we have just given from Herbert, and that only: and yet it is evident from Herbert's statement, that he had met the general alone, walking too in the gallery, and that he did not even see Harrison or any other officer, except Cromwell, who joined them. The passage in Herbert is marked by Mr. Hume's own pencil, in the copy belonging to the Advocates' Library; but he had not the merit of invention. He owed it to Perinchief,—an author whom he had not the manliness to refer to, but whose work was always in reserve to be adduced, in case his statements had been attacked as opposed to his own authority. Perinchief, after stating that Fairfax had taken up some resolutions, "(as is credibly reported)," proceeds in almost the very words which Mr. Hume has adopted: "This being suspected or known, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison, coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to persuade him that the Lord had rejected the king, and with such like language as they knew had for-

sacred; and fallen greatness, however merited the sufferings, never fails to make the deepest impression. We, too, would now willingly draw

merly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very morning signed the warrant for the assassination;" (it was not signed that morning) "they also desired him, with them, to seek the Lord by prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing. Which he assenting to, Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blasphemous discourse to God, in such a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately sent to their instruments to hasten; of which, when they had notice that it was passed, they rose up, and persuaded the general that this was a full return of prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure, they were to acquiesce in it," p. 91-2. No one surely would pretend to refer to Perinchief as an authority; and even he qualifies his statement, as we have seen, by his parenthesis, "(as is credibly reported.)" We may observe, as we have formerly remarked, that in order to prove Fairfax to have been innocent, they proceed upon the assumption that he was destitute of common sense. But, in the first place, it is utterly impossible that Fairfax, who was at Whitehall, could be ignorant of the truth. Did he not see the scaffold erected? Did he not see the troops drawn out, and the crowd assembled? Did he not hear the noise of the drums which beat all the way from St. James's to Whitehall? Was there not one even of his own regiment to apprise him of the circumstance? or, would not Colonel Tomlinson, upon whom Hume says, "the king's conduct had wrought a total conversion," have signified the circumstance? Would not all the presbyterian clergy, who knew perfectly that it was to take place, and were vehement against it, have run with the tidings to Lady Fairfax, in order to obtain the interposition of her lord? These clergy were always about her, and, knowing her sentiments, could not fail to introduce the subject. But we must suppose, that what all the world knew, Fairfax alone was ignorant of, and yet, he does not pretend any thing of this kind in his own memoirs, and we may be well assured that he would not have allowed such a charge against Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison to pass. He survived the restoration many years, and doubtless would have been adduced as a witness against Harrison, to prove a fact so calculated to excite execration against one whom the ruling party, now joined by Fairfax, wished so much to make abhorred. But what sets the matter be-

the curtain over his failings, did we not conceive it an imperious duty not to allow the last scene of his life to make a false impression on the reader's

yond all dispute is, that it is disproved in the most direct manner, by the evidence against Colonel Hacker, as one of the regicides. The evidence is that of Colonel Huncks, who says, that a little before the hour the king died, he was in Ireton's chamber, where Ireton and Harrison were in bed together; and that there were Cromwell, Colonel Hacker, Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, Axtel, and the witness himself standing at the door. Howel's State Trials, vol. v. p. 1180. Now, as Hacker was the officer who brought the king from St. James's, and as the king was but a short time at Whitehall before his execution, they left St. James's at ten, and Charles was brought on the scaffold by twelve. Huncks could not be wrong in saying, that immediately after this interview the king came out to the scaffold. It is beyond all question, therefore, that though Herbert might state correctly what he witnessed, all the rest, and particularly the imputation by Perinchief and Hume, is utterly unfounded. But why have all this mis-statement and slander been directed against Harrison; with whose character, as Harris well remarks, it was utterly irreconcilable? It is, that, at the Restoration, he was so far from denying what he had done, or feigning repentance for it, that he declared he came into court to bring it forth to the light, and died with such magnanimity and Christian piety, that the royalists were as apprehensive of the effect of his character after his death, as they had been of his heroism in the field: It is, that he reminded the Bench, that many who sat there had formerly been as active as himself; and, indeed, not to mention Moncke, who had sold them all, it is impossible to reflect on the conduct of Hollis on that occasion, and the language he then used, compared with his former proceedings, without amazement at his effrontery. But let us here quote a short passage of the trial.—*Harrison.* Notwithstanding the judgment of so many learned ones, that the kings of England are no ways accountable to the parliament, the lords and commons, in the beginning of this war, having declared the king's beginning war upon them, the God of gods—*Court.* Do you render yourself so desperate, that you care not what language you let fall? It must not be suffered.—*Harrison.* I would not willingly speak to offend any man; but I know God is no respecter of persons. His setting up his standard against the peo-

mind. It is so revolting to the feelings of an ingenuous breast, to credit that a human being,—who, as a firm believer in Christianity, expects that the stroke of death must usher his spirit into the presence of his everlasting judge, to whom his secret thoughts are known, and from whom he looks for his reward, according to the deeds done in the flesh—could spend his latest breath in uttering untruths, that too many are misled by decla-

ple———*Court.* Truly, Mr. Harrison, this must not be suffered; this doth not belong to you.—*Harrison.* Under favour, this doth belong to me. I would have abhorred to have brought him to account, had not the blood of Englishmen that had been shed———*Counsel.* Methinks he should be sent to Bedlam, till he comes to the gallows, to render an account of this. This must not be suffered. It is, in a manner, a new impeachment of this king, to justify their treasons against his late majesty.—*Solicitor-General.* My Lords, I pray that the jury may go together on the evidence.—*Sir Edward Turner.* My Lords, that man hath the plague all over him; it is a pity any should stand near him, for he will infect them. Let us say to him, as they used to write over an house infected, ‘the Lord have mercy upon him;’ and so let the officers take him away.—*Lord Chief Baron.* Mr. Harrison, we are ready to hear you again; but to hear such stuff it cannot be suffered. You have spoken that which is as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as I have heard!” The plea of Harrison was, that he acted by the supreme authority, the parliament; and that no inferior jurisdiction could take cognizance of the act. He in vain asked for liberty to have counsel to urge that plea. The hangman, in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was purposely placed before him during what they were pleased to denominate a trial. *Howell’s State Trials*, p. 1024-31. *Ludlow*, vol. iii. p. 62. Besides this, he was, after three months’ close confinement, every friend denied access to him, and the indictment never shewn, apprized at nine o’clock in the evening of the 9th of October, that he was to be put to the bar next morning, and he was finally disposed of by the court on the 11th. *Ib.* As Love, the Sheriff of London, at the Restoration, would not pack the juries, the trials were delayed till new sheriffs were appointed. *Lud.* vol. iii. p. 59.

rations of innocence emitted on the scaffold ; but numerous instances could easily be adduced to prove that men, whose hearts are hardened to the commission of crimes, and who yet retain a regard for character, easily deceive themselves, or compound with their consciences, so as to gain, by false assertions, the good will of bystanders, who sympathize with them in their last affliction. The unfortunate Charles, however, was in a peculiar situation : accustomed from his earliest years to intrigue and dissimulation, he seems, like his father, to have regarded hypocrisy as a necessary part of "*king-craft*:" he had reconciled his conscience to the most uncandid protestations, and had studied divinity in order to satisfy himself of the lawfulness of taking oaths to break them *. Though he loved the church of England only as a prop to his own power, he had latterly endeavoured to persuade himself that, by upholding it, he was rendering a service to religion ; and he was now surrounded with clergy, who, regarding the ecclesiastical establishment with reverence, partaking, in no small degree, of the feeling of self-interest, were ready to assure him, (and well did they practise the lesson they taught,) that a pious fraud, which promoted such an object, was not only justifiable, but commendable in the sight of God. Thus did

* He had translated Sanderson, *De Juramenti Promissorii Obligatione*, with his own hand. See a judicious note by Laing on this subject. What too we have seen, that he said he had learned from divines, regarding the validity of a promise by a person under restraint, is in point.

his faith, instead of controlling the dictates of his will, encourage them ; and the interests and welfare of his family appeared to him to demand such a sacrifice of principle. Deeply, however, must every man, who regards sincerity, deplore, that the firmness displayed by Charles on the scaffold was disgraced by the speech he uttered. His whole government, and all his measures—as proved by authorities and documents which can admit of no dispute—had been subversive of parliament, the privileges of the people, and, in short, of the law of the land, on which alone was founded his right to govern, and yet, like his two grand criminal ministers, Laud and Strafforde—whose own correspondence, in the absence of all other proof, would indisputably establish their guilt—he averred on the scaffold that he had always been a friend to parliaments and the franchises of the people.

A few days after his death, was published the *The Icon. Eikon Basilike*, or portraiture of his sacred majesty in his sufferings, and, from the effect it produced,—an effect, however, which has been much exaggerated,—some historians, overlooking the circumstance of its having owed all its effect to its being regarded in the light of a dying declaration, have erroneously inferred that, had it been published a few days sooner, it would have saved the monarch's life. This work pretends to give an account of the royal government, and the conduct of the king in all his actions, while each chapter concludes with fervent prayers, and appeals to heaven for the sincerity of all his ways, and with invoca-

tions of blessings on his people. He is represented as a prince fraught with every virtue, aspersed in all his administration, oppressed unjustly in all his measures for the public good, rebelled against without a pretext; and yet breathing out his secret prayers for the good of his subjects, and drinking out the bitter cup of affliction with all the benignity of a saint, whose affections, placed on another and a better world, are only concerned here for the wickedness and destructive folly of his people, and the safety of his wife and children. The royalists, and particularly the high-church party, whose purpose was manifestly "to make the same advantage of his book, which they did before of his regal name and authority, and who intended it not so much the defence of his former actions, as the promoting of their own future designs," appealed to this book as to an unanswerable vindication of their royal master. Having declared it to be his, they were not contented with imputing to it even all the qualities which constitute excellence in a human production; but, while they blasphemously compared the sufferings of the royal martyr to those of the author of their faith; (nay, some did not scruple to assert that they were more unjustifiable, "the kingdom of Christ not being of this world, and he, though unjustly condemned, judged at a lawful tribunal,") have attributed to it inspiration itself. The same interests continuing, the work was still defended with similar pertinacity. The truth soon came out; but, as if it had been

a point of faith, which brought a man's principles to the test, the high party, with bigoted zeal, first defended it as the work of that prince, and then reiterated the eulogies which had been pronounced upon it. Though the only productions of Charles which can be relied on with confidence as his, are his private letters, and possibly one or two messages from the Isle of Wight after the exclusion of so many of his followers, and the return of the excluded members to the house of commons, possibly also the controversy with Henderson*, which, however, I think extremely doubtful; and these certainly afford but a very indifferent proof of talent, and none of power of composition—yet even such an author as Mr. Hume speaks of the internal evidence, derived from the style and composition, as perfectly conclusive; affirming, that "*these meditations resemble in elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity, the genius of those performances which we know to have flowed from the royal pen.*" No wonder that the bigotry which could see these qualities in the harsh, abrupt, style of his letters, could perceive no defect in his conduct. But the truth could not be denied for ever; and though the same historian is pleased to say, that these me-

* The controversy with Henderson is poor enough; but from the cunning device practised after he left London, betwixt him and Hyde, why should we be surprised at his having got assistance? He carried on many intrigues at that time, and a varied correspondence; why, then, could he not obtain the assistance of Juxton in the way he adopted with Hyde? See vol. iii. p. 317, 318, of this History.

ditations "are so unlike the bombast, perplexed, rhetorical, corrupt style of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are ascribed, *that no human testimony seems sufficient to convince us that he was the author,*" yet they are now indisputably and for ever ascertained—to the satisfaction of all who will be convinced by human testimony—to have been the production of that individual. No man who had studied the Clarendon papers, with the remarks of Symmons and Laing, could, we imagine, have doubted the fact; but additional documents, published by Mr. Todd, in his *Life of Dr. Walton*, have set the point beyond the reach of controversy. And now we may safely pronounce a judgment upon the work, without being charged with any design to detract from the royal merits. Proof of any thing like a high mind it never affords, and occasionally the corrupt, rhetorical, style of Gauden breaks through the subdued tone which he conceived it necessary to assume. If compared with the works of Gauden, it will not surprise us to find that he was the author; but, if style can be relied upon, it would require strong human testimony indeed, to convince any unprejudiced mind that it could be the production of the same pen that composed the royal letters. Unfortunately for the memory of Charles, however, though he had no merit in the composition, he had guilt in the publication; for, as the manuscript had been shown to him by Gauden, and he consented that it should be published in his name, he adopted all the mis-

statements—accompanied with appeals to heaven for the truth of the narrative, and prayers which, as they abound with untruths, can be viewed in no other light than as a mockery of that Supreme Being, for whose worship in purity he affected such zeal. The imposition, however, is the less extraordinary, from the concurrence it met with in the guardians of his conscience. In charity to this unfortunate prince's memory, we shall abstain from farther remarks on his moral qualities. His abilities do not appear to have been great; but they had been judiciously cultivated in his youth. He had read little, but he is said to have derived so much benefit from conversation, as to have a great stock of general knowledge; and his struggles with the parliament necessarily brought his qualities into play, beyond what almost falls to the lot of princes, or indeed to any who are not obliged to take an active interest in the affairs of life*. He was a great encourager of the arts of painting and building, and purchased the works of emi-

Character of
Charles for
talents, &c.

* At the outset of the war, leading men had formed too unfavourable an estimate of Charles's talents, and they were necessarily astonished to find that he had fair abilities. The eulogies of his friends, however, cannot be regarded, and the speeches attributed to Cromwell and others are not to be relied on. Whitelocke, at the Oxford treaty, gives him a high character for talent, and none was a better judge. But it is difficult to bring a king to the test, because no one dares use the freedom; and possibly the editor, (as I suspect, on grounds already stated by me, he has done on one or two other occasions,) assisted the passage. If we may judge of Charles by his correspondence, we form no high estimate of his powers.

nent masters at a vast expense; but as not one out of a hundred of those who involve themselves in difficulties, and frequently in absolute ruin, on those branches of art, have any taste for them, it is hard to say whether Charles was influenced by taste or a love of magnificence; or by the latter chiefly, with a small mixture of the former*. In stature he did not rise above the middle height, but he was well proportioned; and though he neither walked nor rode with grace, he did both with activity. His features were regular, and upon the whole, accounted handsome: a feebleness about the eyes, however, detracted from his appearance, and was not calculated to give a high idea of mental energy. In his manners he was cold, stiff, and formal, and preserved a state and reserve which alienated the affections of those who approached him. Like his progenitors, his father excepted, he showed personal courage†.

* Had his system not been opposed, it would have been found to be destructive of the arts—as the obstruction of industry would have bereft people of the means of encouraging them. There is a passage in Milton which has been often quoted to shew that Charles admired Shakespeare.

† Warwick, p. 64, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 256. Hacket's Life of Williams, part ii. p. 85. 137. Carte's Ormonde, vol. i. p. 356-7. I have seen an original painting of him. It is only necessary, in regard to the Eikon, to refer to the third volume of the Clarendon Papers, App. p. 95. Laing, vol. i. note xiv. Symmons, Life of Milton, p. 272, *et seq.* Burnet's Hist. vol. i. Lastly, Todd's Life of Dr. Walton, vol. i. p. 118, *et seq.* Perinchief says of the Icon, that "a sober reader cannot tell what to admire most, either his incredible prudence, his ar-

dent piety, or his majestic and truly royal style. It was imagined that the admiration of following ages might bring it into the canon of holy writings, because it corresponded so nearly with the occasions, and was so full of the piety and elegance of David's Psalms, that it seemed to be dictated by the same spirit." p. 94. This writer was a doctor of divinity.

Hume says, "Milton compared its effects to those which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæsar." How far this statement is correct, the words of Milton will determine. "First, then, that some men (whether this were by him intended or by his friends) have by policy accomplished after death that revenge upon their enemies, which in life they were not able, hath been oft related. And, among other examples, we find that the last will of Cæsar being read to the people, and what bounteous legacies he had bequeathed them, wrought more in that vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, than all the art he could ever use to win their favour in his lifetime. And how much their intent, who published these overlate apologies and meditations of the dead king, drives to the same end of stirring up the people to bring him that honour, that affection, and, by consequence, that revenge to his dead corpse, which he himself living could never gain to his person, it appears, both by the conceited portraiture before his book, drawn out to the full measure of a masking scene, and set there to catch fools and silly gazers; and by those Latin words, after the end, '*Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt.*'" Symmons' edition of his prose works, vol. ii. p. 394, 395. The following sentence contains much truth, as we shall prove in the sequel: "But it is evident that the chief of his adherents never loved him, never honoured either him or his cause, but as they took him to set a face upon their own malignant designs, nor bemoaned his loss at all, but the loss of their own aspiring hopes: Like those captive women whom the poet notes in his Iliad, to have bewailed the death of Patroclus in outward show, but indeed their own condition." p. 397. The *Icon* is said to have passed through fifty editions in the first year; but considering the innumerable forgeries of that period, and the attempt to compare it to the Scriptures as an inspired work, we cannot find those statements entitled to much credit. Whitelocke, and other writers, do not so much as take notice of it. Clarendon had, indeed, a reason for his silence; for he knew it to be, as he states in his own letters, a forgery; and says that he had early satisfied the king, Charles II. on that subject. We have given specimens already of Charles's composition in his letters; and surely

no man who is not perfectly bigoted can admire them. The following sentence may afford some idea of the style of the author of the *Icon*: "Generally whoever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruin on church and state, used the midwifery of those tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of counsels, or fair production of acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateness befitting a parliament; but ript up with barbourous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive votes, such as their inviters and encouragers most fancied." *Icon*, p. 11. edit. 1662.

It is amusing to observe the comfortable ignorance of editors. The gentleman who published Evelyn's *Memoirs*, goes on dully to prove what, he says, requires no proof, the genuineness of the *Icon*—by referring to a letter as affording internal evidence; but it is a species of evidence utterly beyond my powers to comprehend.

The following is a very singular passage in Mr. Hume's work. After stating the violent return of duty and affection which was occasioned by Charles's death, he proceeds thus: "On weaker minds, the effect of these complicated passions was prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb; others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their graves; nay some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unshed tears; those pulpits which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in the detestation of those hypocritical parricides who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this act of iniquity had thrown an indelible stain on the nation." Now, as Mr. Hume quotes no authority for this statement, the reader naturally imagines that he had at least seen facts resting on something deserving the name of authority. Alas! it is no such thing. He has given almost the very words of Perinchief, whom yet he durst not quote; and his pencil-marks are still at the place in the copy belonging to the Advocates' Library. "When the news of his death were divulged, women with child for grief cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb, like her that fell in travell, *when the glory was departed from Israel*. Others, both men and women, fell into convulsions and swoounding fits, and contracted so deep a melancholy as attended them to the grave. Some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not or would not live when their beloved prince was slaughtered, (it

is reported,) suddenly fell down dead. The pulpits were likewise bedewed with unshorn tears; and some of those to whom the living king was, for episcopacie's sake, less acceptable, yet now bewailed the loss of him when dead. Children, (who usually seem unconcerned in public calamities,) were also affected with the news, and became so prodigal of their tears, that, for some time, they refused comfort; even some of those who sat as judges, could not forbear to mingle some tears with his blood when it was spilt." P. 95.—When Hume could embody such stuff as this, why did not he boldly give a miracle at once—as the following? "A miracle of miracles, wrought by the blood of king Charles of happy memory, upon a mayd at Detford, foure miles from London, who, by the violence of the disease called the king's evil, was blinde one whole yeere, but by makeing use of a piece of handkerchief dipped in the king's blood, is recovered of her sight, to the comfort of the king's friends, and astonishment of his enemies, the truth whereof many thousands can testify." Lond. printed 1649. The author says, "the like was never known since our Saviour Christ and his blessed apostles lived in the earth. She was the most loathsome spectacle, besides being blind; had been given up by her physicians, forsaken by her acquaintance, yet recovered her sight, and became lusty and strong as before, and capable of doing every thing befitting her age," which was about fourteen or fifteen. The names of her parents, and her abode, &c. are also given, and people invited to satisfy themselves. It is said that "hundreds flock daily to see her, and that all who saw her before, do confesse that it is a work the Lord hath done, whereby his name might be glorified, and the king's death thought upon," &c. It would not be difficult to give similar instances from the royalist pamphlets of that time.

The following passage is given by Mrs. M'Auley from a sermon preached before Charles II. at Breda, on Feb. 4, 1648-9. "The person now murdered was not the Lord of Glory, but a glorious lord, Christ's own vicar, his lieutenant and vicegerent here on earth; and therefore, by all laws, divine and human, he was privileged from any punishment which could be inflicted by men. Albeit, he was an inferior to Christ, as man is to God, yet was his privilege of inviolability far more clear than was Christ's; for Christ was not a temporal prince, his kingdom was not of this world, and, therefore, when he vouchsafed to come into the world, and to become the Son of Man, he did subject himself to the law; but our gracious sovereign was well known to be a temporal prince, a free monarch, and their undoubted sove-

reign, to whom they did all owe, and had sworn allegiance. The parliament is the great council, and hath acted all and more against their lord and sovereign than the other did against Christ. The proceedings against our sovereign were more illegal, and in many things more cruel. The true religion delivered unto us in scripture, and professed in the true, ancient, and catholic church, doth teach us to honour and obey the king, as God's minister set over us; and that the injuries of kings, though ever so great, are to be endured by their subjects, who have no other remedy, and are to use no other arms against their king, than to pray unto God for him, who hath the hearts of kings in his hand, and may turn them when he thinks fit." *M'Auley*, vol. iv. p. 426. Such was the language, not only of a simple minister of the gospel, but of a prelate!! Let us be no longer surprised at the hypocrisy of Charles on the scaffold, and not wonder that Charles II. proved so unconstitutional in his government when he had such ghostly advisers; but Englishmen would not exchange their privileges for the political divinity of prelates, and banished a family that acted upon it. Lord Digby writes thus to Ormonde: "From the creation to the accursed day of this damnable murder, nothing parallel to it was ever heard of. Even crucifying our blessed Saviour, if we consider him only in his human nature, did nothing equal this, his kingdom not being of this world; and he, though unjustly condemned, yet judged at a lawful tribunal." *Carte's Ormonde*, vol. iii. p. 667. *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 211. Comparisons of Charles's sufferings with those of Christ were widely circulated. *Milton's Prose Works*, *Def. Sec. pro Pop. Ang.* p. 241, 242.

We have already said a little about the research of Noble, and here we shall give an instance of it: He, in his account of *Harrison, Lives of the Regicides*, refers to *Worsley's History of the Isle of Wight*, and says, that the narrative of Charles's sufferings in Hurst castle, as given by Worsley, from an authentic manuscript, would melt any heart but that of a stern republican. Now, in the first place, Worsley relates chiefly what occurred at Newport, and breaks off his account of the king when he was carried out of the island. In the second place, the authentic manuscript is no other than *Colonel Cooke's Memoirs*, which, says Worsley, were published shortly after the restoration, but have since become scarce, and therefore he referred to the manuscript copy in the British Museum. The fact is, however, that they were republished along with *Herbert's Memoirs*, to which, Worsley particularly refers, and it is inexcusable in No-

CHAP. XII.

State of England.—Settlement of the Commonwealth.—A High Court of Justice constituted for the Trial of the Duke of Hamilton, as Earl of Cambridge, and the Earls of Norwich, &c.—Irish Affairs, and the Exploits of Cromwell there, &c.—State of Scotland.—The Expedition and Death of Montrose.—English Affairs.—Arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, and War between the two Nations.—Fairfax declines the Command of the Army destined against Scotland, and Cromwell appointed General.—Cromwell's Expedition into Scotland.—Battle of Dunbar.—Subsequent Measures of the Covenanters, and their Expedition into England.—Battle of Worcester.—The King's Escape.—Exploits of the Navy; Character of Blake.—The Dutch War.—State of Parties.—Dissolution of the Parliament, and Usurpation of Cromwell.

State of
England,
&c.

THE death of Charles produced the greatest sensation, not only throughout every part of the British empire, but of all Christendom; and the royalist party tried to sound the tocsin amongst all princes, clergy, and privileged orders, as an example of rebellion in subjects which they were

bound out of self-interest to avenge; the monarchs being told that they ought to regard the blood of the English king as if it had flowed from their own veins. It is extraordinary, however, that the last act of the English parliament against that unfortunate prince, while it excited alarm, also inspired awe and respect. Far from joining in a league for the conquest of England in favour of Charles II., these monarchs, as we are told by Clarendon, who would have ridden on the neck of his country at the head of foreign troops, shared in the spoil of that infatuated prince's private property *. His furniture, plate, and paintings, were exposed to sale; and Cardinal Mazarin, as head of the French government, and Christina of Sweden, both great admirers of the English, and particularly of Cromwell, were extensive purchasers of those sumptuous articles. The presbyterian party, throughout the British empire, or rather their clergy and leaders, though they would have reduced the crown to a total dependency on

* *Clar.* vol. iv. p. 263. This author says, that "so many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants; that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not *always* from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men," p. 258. Yet, forsooth, a woman in the middling ranks at the Hague, being with child, fell into travel with horror at the mention of the king's death, and died; and all about Charles II. were bereft of their understandings, p. 275.

themselves, and even avowed that it might be transferred to another head, while many justified the execution, though they detested the instruments by whom it was accomplished, were now loud in expressions of abhorrence against the obnoxious party who had blasted all their hopes, and, instead of giving them the spiritual dominion, which imported also the civil, allowed a general liberty of conscience, fatal to the prospects and pretensions of an aspiring priesthood *. Equally with the royalists they declaimed against the king's death, and predicted general anarchy and confusion from allowing men to worship their Creator in the manner most reconcileable to their own consciences. The event, however, proved that the liberty of conscience, so decried, was no less politic than charitable, and conformable to true Christian piety. A learned and pious ministry

* They are well lashed by Milton in his tenure of kings and magistrates. By the way, had the late Dr. Watson seen this tract in Symmons' edition of Milton's Prose Works, vol. ii., it would have saved him from a very great error, and prevented an injurious attack on Milton, in regard to Luther and other reformers,—an attack which proves that the right reverend prelate had never looked into the works which he pretended to be so fully master of. For, as my very learned and very worthy friend Dr. M'Crie justly observes, the works are fairly quoted by Milton. But the whole passage in this tract, as published by himself, had been expunged in the various collections of his prose works, till it was restored by Symmons, vol. ii. p. 271. 304. By the way, I do not know how the prelate could reconcile his philippic with the revolution settlement. For the passage of the Bishop of Landaff just referred to, see his sermon preached before the house of lords, 30th Jan. 1795.

was established throughout the land, the differences in opinion, fierce under controul and persecution, gradually melted down when the fetters were removed. No longer regarding each other through the medium of all those interests and passions, excited and inflamed by an undue interference with men's spiritual conduct, they continued an intercourse with each other as men embarked in the same voyage for eternity, and only a little varying the course upon a difference of opinion, without materially forsaking the track. The rage and fury of the royalists seemed to be unlimited; but the leaders of the party at least gave convincing proofs that it was their own misfortunes they bewailed, while they affected to drop tears for their late master. During his life the party had been rent with factions, every one being ready to betray the king and ruin his friends for his own advancement; and even the works of Clarendon continue to exhibit the same disgusting picture of faction, treachery, and selfishness amongst those who, in foreign parts, poured forth execrations against the proceedings in England, and uttered the language of unlimited devotion to kings, as well as of inexpressible anguish at the late catastrophe. He represents every one, from the queen downwards, as anxious only to monopolize the royal ear, in hopes of all the benefits of his exclusive favour whenever he should be permitted to ascend the throne; and even the Duke of York's attendants, as convulsed with faction, nay

that royal duke himself, though only fifteen years of age, as fond of intrigue *.

The civil war, accompanied with all the misery we have detailed, was so far from inflicting any lasting evils, that the country had no sooner felt itself relieved of that oppressive system of monopoly, and want of confidence in individual property, with which the nation had, anterior to the meeting of the present parliament, been distressed, than it acquired a new spring of activity and industry, which brought general wealth. With a feeling of independence and security, the trading and manufacturing classes, in spite of an unprecedented taxation, made such an astonishing progress, that the rate of interest, which had never before been under eight per cent. now fell to six t. Delinquents, as the royalists were termed, did indeed suffer; but their property was not lost to the public.

The war, though disgraced on the royalist side with many cruelties, which the parliamentary did not always abstain from imitating, was, upon the whole, of unexampled mildness; while it led to a development of talent almost unprecedented in the annals of mankind. To the credit of the popular party, never was one assassination commit-

Interest of
money re-
duced 12th
March,
1649.

* Clarendon, vol. v. p. 258. 285. 299, *et seq.*; vol. vi. p. 385-7. 392. 436, *et seq.* Life, vol. i. part vi. Regarding the Duke of York's family, he writes:—"Never little family was torn into so many pieces and factions. The duke was very young, yet loved intrigues so well, that he was too much inclined to hearken to any men who had the confidence to make bold propositions to him," p. 132.

† Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1292. Journ. Whit. p. 388.

ted by them. This crime, though less known in England than in any other country, had still, in the preceding times, occasionally disgraced the community, and its disappearance now can only be ascribed to an equal dispensation of law and justice. When men are denied their rights in courts of law, and find that there is no legal redress for oppression, they give vent to their own feelings, in order to repress that which otherwise would be without check: but, wherever courts of law are open to the injured, and the jurisprudence is founded on principles of equity, the general feelings of mankind operate a thousand times more than cruel punishments in preventing a crime, which disturbs every breast with a feeling of insecurity, and consequently inspires the blackest passions. The royalists, however, who conceived that, allied with the king, they alone were entitled to all power, and that their exclusion was a tyrannous persecution, evinced sufficient readiness to perpetrate this dastardly crime.

Vain is it to attribute the civil war of England to the growth of freedom. The liberty of that country had previously preserved it from intestine commotion, and the struggle had been for every thing valuable,—all those institutions which had descended from their ancestors. Matters had, indeed, proceeded farther than the first assertors of the public rights had anticipated; but this ought to be attributed to the conduct of the prince and his advisers, who, in their attempt to establish unmingled despotism in the place of a

limited monarchy, had shaken and subverted the pillars of the constitution, and taught the people that it now became them, as the origin of all just power, to make some new arrangement which might preserve for them and their posterity blessings that, though their ancestors had enjoyed under a certain form, they had sadly experienced were no longer to be expected under the government of such an individual. Though nothing but a great crisis, or a certainty of a grand melioration can justify a people, in the enjoyment of tolerable privileges, for attempting to alter the government; yet when that is done for them, when the prince has sapped the foundation of all their institutions, as well as instructed them that no conditions could bind him, no oaths were to be relied upon, and it becomes incumbent on them to erect a new structure, they are no longer in the condition of a people, who, in the mere pursuit of a speculative good, subvert a valuable government, and incur the risk of anarchy, followed by military despotism. Whether the English adopted the mode best calculated for public happiness, is not the question; but a survey of the transactions in foreign states will prove with what little justice the convulsions in Britain have been ascribed to the freedom of her government. Germany had long been afflicted with the most sanguinary contests: all men know how the Low Countries were desolated in the last age, and by what a bloody struggle Holland asserted her independence. From the despotism of the French government, that

country had rarely been without insurrections; and the religious schism had been productive of horrors which never disgraced the British soil: Henry IV. had only reached the throne of France through a civil war; and the struggle of the Hugonots, with the civil wars, subsequently, we have already in part related. Even at the very moment of which we are treating, civil war seemed to be transferred from England to that country; but the war of the Fronde, with whatever spirit of vengeance it was attended, was as ridiculous as destitute of any legitimate object; and the royal family were treated with scorn and contempt by a people who afterwards boasted of, and were eulogized for, their affection to kings. We have already seen that Portugal had revolted from Spain, and re-established an independent monarchy in the house of Braganza.

As it was necessary to erect a new government, men's thoughts were occupied with that important subject; and, as was to have been expected, various opinions were entertained, peculiar notions were indulged in, and many of influence were disappointed and chagrined that their own views were not adopted. But the question which principally divided men's opinions, was, whether the government should be monarchical or republican. The liberal party, still attached to monarchy, proposed to place the crown on the head of one of the younger sons of the late king, both because the eldest son had already appeared in arms against the people, and because the deviation from the ordi-

nary rules of succession, would sufficiently indicate the national choice, and render the king dependent upon the public will; while, by preserving the crown in the same family, the ambition of private men would be checked. The supporters of this opinion argued, and with justice, that the question ought not to be, what government, in the abstract, might be preferable, but what, as most suitable to the present habits and prejudices of the people, was likely to be productive of the greatest stability and happiness? That the nation, having been always accustomed to monarchy, could not, without a violent shock, pass instantaneously to a new form of government, which necessarily required different habits; and that, while monarchy would be more consonant to the general sentiments, the election of a king from one of the late prince's children would so improve the machine of government, as to afford a vast field for meliorating the various institutions of society, the laws and rights of the people. It cannot be denied that the supporters of this view, which was the basis of that adopted forty years afterwards, argued with great philosophical precision. The other party maintained, that the melancholy train of events which had lately flowed from monarchy, proved that it was absolutely vicious, and that no regulations were sufficient to check the growth of arbitrary power in a prince: That, after such an awful lesson, it would import little wisdom to re-establish the same form of government; that a republic might now be established without farther re-

volution or difficulty; that how reasonable soever submission might have been to a monarchy, provided the king had been contented with that portion of power which had been conceded to him by the law of the land, yet that such reasoning could no longer be applicable, since the old government, in consequence of his attempts to overthrow the rights of the people, from whom his own power had flowed, had actually been the means of bringing it to a period; that the present opportunity neglected, they never could expect another, and that matters having been once settled in a different channel, it would be as irrational to expect, as criminal to attempt, a fresh change in order to realize their conception of a more perfect form; that the Dutch republic fully evinced the practicability of establishing a commonwealth, and the benefits accruing from the system; that by electing one of the younger sons of the late king, they might indeed repress the ambition of private men in any hope of reaching the throne, but they held out an inconsistent lesson to the people, since, on the one hand, they intimated that the monarchy was elective, and taught mankind that the right of succession was a principle founded in error; and yet, on the other, they, by still selecting one of the family, assured them that there was a right inherent in the house of Stuart, which belonged to no other; that the inevitable effect of this would be, that the old principle regarding the law of succession would be so confirmed in men's minds, that they would conceive that the eldest son had been

illegally debarred the throne, and the royalist party would ever be on the watch to take advantage of this impression, in order to bring him in, unconditionally; that in this way faction would be kept up, and the settlement of the state be in such jeopardy, that rigorous and arbitrary measures would be necessary to maintain it: But that the simple principle,—that the people are the origin of all just power,—was so obvious as to obtain universal assent.—It cannot be denied that the present was unquestionably one of those seasons when men were not only at full liberty, but imperiously called upon to exercise their judgments as to the form of the future government; and the only question regards the practicability of the different systems, with their stability and probable benefits. The mere name of a republic is nothing, without such provisions as to make even bad men co-operate for the public good; and the idea of giving the national council all the power of nominating to offices, as well as of legislation, could not fail to be productive of a melancholy result. The consequences of the plan pursued at this time, and the benefits that afterwards accrued from the revolution of 1688, fully establish that the first party had formed the justest estimate of the relative situation of the empire. But let us not be hasty in condemning men for not seeing all the effects of a new posture of affairs.—The form of a commonwealth was agreed upon, and it was understood to be in a manner conformable to the propositions contained in a paper called the agreement of the

A commonwealth agreed upon.

people; but that, in the mean time, the parliament should continue its powers, till such tranquillity should be established throughout the nation, as to render a general election upon the new principles no longer hazardous*.

* As Whitelocke refused to concur in the proceedings against Charles, the following extract from his journal may not be unacceptable. The conversation is between the Archbishop of Upsale, a doctor who accompanied the prelate, and Whitelocke. After speaking of the wonderful acts of the parliament, the archbishop says, "They have been indeed wonderful; but with your leave, my lord ambassador, we, in these parts, doe not understand what necessity you were putt unto to take away your settled and antient government by kings, wholly to abolish it, and to resolve into a republicque."—"Wh. It was judged a prudence and necessity upon the parliament party, for the safety and securing themselves and their cause, after their sword had been drawn against the king, not only to throw away the scabbert, butt to abolish kingly government; and to admit no more kings, which they thought could never be reconciled to them; and to resolve into a republicque, that they might enjoy their just rights and liberties, which had been invaded and wrested from them by their kings."—"Arch. Butt how could their consciences be satisfied, for the preservation of their owne rights, to take away the right of kings, and for their own safety to destroy their king?"—"Wh. Selfe preservation goes farre with mortall men; and they held the rights of a people more to be regarded than any thing relating to a particular person; and that it is not the right of a king to governe a people, but the consent of a people that such a king shall governe them; which, if he doe not according to justice and their law, they hold, that the people for whom, and for whose good, and for preservation of whose rights, he is entrusted as the supreme officer, may, if they please, remove him from that office, and uppon this ground the people's deputies, in our supreme counsell, the parliament, thought fitt to take away the government by kings, and make it a republicque."—"Dr. It is no false doctrine that kings are for the good of the people, and that the people were not made for kings, butt kings for the people's sake, &c." vol. i. p. 390-1. Whitelocke says to the Chancellor,—"Every government, which the people chooseth, is certainly lawfull, whether by kingly or other; and that to be accounted best, which they, by their representatives, doe make choice of, as best for them and their condition." Yet he would not justify the execution of Charles, p. 339.

New Seal.

The new seal, which had been ordered, was now struck; and the crown lands and fee-farm rents were exposed to sale; and, lest the trappings of royalty should seduce the people, the regalia and rich furniture of the royal palaces were disposed of.

to House of
Commons

An ordinance was likewise passed, making it high treason to proclaim any of the royal family *.

House of
lords abol-
ished, &c.

During the month of January, the lords had, without regard to the proceedings of the commons, continued to sit in their judicial capacity; but after the death of the king, they made an exertion to secure for their order a share in the new government, and, for that purpose, sent a message to the commons, intimating their readiness to concur with them in a general settlement of public affairs: The message, was, however, disregarded, and a second and third met with a similar fate; but, on the fourth, the subject underwent a debate, and the house having divided, came to the resolution that the advice of the peers should not be taken. It was settled, however, without a division, that the house of lords was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished; but they allowed the peers to be eligible as representatives of the people †. The commons voted, at the same time, that it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, with the power thereof in any single

* *Cob. Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1281, *et seq.* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 376, *et seq.* *Journ.* The library at St. James's was saved to the nation by the interposition of Whitelocke, p. 415-16.

† Some of them, as the Earl of Pembroke for Berks, were elected members for shires. *Whitelocke*, p. 396, &c.

person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty and safety of the people, and therefore ought to be abolished. Acts were afterwards passed to that purpose. The lower house then changed its name from commons into that of the commonwealth of England, and appointed a council of state to manage the executive part of public business. The choice of this council indicated that regard to rank and wealth which generally sways the public mind. There were four earls and four lords of the number, with many of the leading characters, as St. John, Vane, Cromwell, Whitelocke, Martin, Ludlow, &c. * The house of commons itself was reduced to a small number; but out of the forty-one secluded members, seven were permitted, on certain conditions, to return. The present system, as we have hinted, was never more than a temporary arrangement; and it must be confessed to have been liable to many objections, since the scrambling for offices which might be supposed to result from the system, was fit to rend the legislature into factions, and lead them to neglect the public for private interest. Defective as it was, however, it possessed that inherent vigour which belongs to all popular assemblies; and, to the astonishment of Europe, as well as of their immediate enemies, it taught foreign states that they should not with impunity interfere with the internal regulations of England. The religious establishment was not neglected. The system was

Council of
State.

In some H
Ande abrup
and, British

Religious
establish-
ment.

* Whitelocke, p. 381.

presbyterianism; but such a presbytery as was totally irreconcilable with the feelings of the party denominated presbyterians; while it accorded with those of the independents. All coercive power was taken from their provincial and classical assemblies, and nothing appears to have remained to them but the power of licensing preachers, and the ordinations. The consequence was, that those of the independent principles who agreed with them on all points of doctrine, were numerous admitted, and in some parts encouraged those voluntary associations, which were so agreeable to their principles. The partiality of the presbyteries, however, in licensing preachers, having been complained of, ministers were appointed as commissioners for that purpose in 1653 *. Meantime, some of the smaller parishes were united, and the larger ones divided. The tithes were regularly paid, the glebe lands were vested in the incumbents; and to compensate for the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, nearly fifty thousand pounds a-year were added to the means of the preaching ministry. There were about ten thousand benefices in England; some of the livings were five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred a-year, and most of them above a hundred. If we only consider the value of money, and comparative riches and habits of the people at that time, we shall find that the highest of these livings were immense, and that one hundred would give a man the same rank in the community as six hundred, at least, would

* Whitelocke, p. 553.

do now. As one instance of the truth of this assertion, Sir H. Slingsby kept an establishment of thirty servants on five hundred a-year*. Thus were the ministers of religion in England supported in the most becoming manner, and their learning and piety corresponded with their livings. The universities were at the same time amply encouraged; and an ambulatory ministry, in addition to the clergy settled there, was appointed for Wales, which continued in deplorable ignorance.

We have already seen that the episcopal benefited clergy were deprived of their livings without any compensation; and we have already pronounced our condemnation of the measure. The parliament, however, now purged of members allied to, and controlled by the rigid presbyterians—who, under the pretext of serving God by their divine establishment, did injustice to his creatures—made a provision for the episcopal clergy. Many of these, disappointed of ambition through the favour of a court, applied themselves sedulously to the discharge of their duties, and general advancement of religion: It was during the interregnum that the polyglot bible was, by the great learning and industry of Dr. Walton, projected and executed. But, in this state of things, the royalists, episcopalians, and rigid presbyterians, saw nothing but confusion; and a worthy prelate, in an after age, mentions as a proof that the people were even falling from Christianity—that a translation, which, however, was suppressed, had been made of the

* Memorials, p. 25, 26.

Koran, whence he infers that the land was in danger of being overrun with Mahometanism*.

We have already said that Hamilton, Norwich,

Trials of
Duke of
Hamilton,
Earls of
Holland,
Norwich,
&c.

* This subject has been so misrepresented, that the following quotations from Whitelocke's Journal of his Embassy, may not be unacceptable.—In a conference one day with Christina, she remarked, that “the papists had not equal liberty with others, as they ought to have.” *Wh.* Their tenets doe not consist with the publique peace of protestant princes and states, whom they esteem hereticks, and a good service to God to cutt them off.—*Qu.* This opinion some have vented in former times; but now their interest leads them from it, and they doe not hold it.—*Wh.* I doubt they still retain it.—*Qu.* I pray what religion doe you professe in England?—*Wh.* In regard your majesty doth me the honour to catechise me, I shall answer you very freely: We professe the true reformed protestant Christian religion; we believe in God the Father, our creator; in God the Son, Jesus Christ, our redeemer; and in God the Holy Ghost, our comforter; three persons, and one God.—*Qu.* This is very right, and these are the fundamentals with other protestant churches; but the world reports a great number of severall different religions in England, some Luthers, some Calvins, some called independents, some anabaptists, and some yett higher, and different from all the rest, whose names we know not.—*Wh.* Where Luther or Calvin, or others, agree with the holy scriptures, the true rule to walke by, there the profession in England agrees with them, and is butt one in the fundamentalls of it; and as to the difference of opinions in ceremonies, or some matters of worship and discipline, it is incident to men, as much as differences of countenances or of dyet; but, in the maine, they all agree. The late troubles occasioned the people to take a greater interest in all things, particularly in matters of religion, than formerly; and there it is esteemed the highest tyranny of all others, to tyrannize over men's judgments and consciences.—*Qu.* May not such a business as that of the anabaptists at Munster, be feared by you to be the issue of these differences in religion, especially when such kind of men receive countenance? There is nothing more desperate to the peace of a state, than the fostering of such violent incendiaries as these kind of people are; and, if they be suffered to grow, and spread their opinions uncontrouled, it will prove difficult to reduce them to order againe: These new opinions are not sprung up from those who now professe them, but have bin instigated by your enemies.—*Wh.* Your

Holland, and Capel, were referred to the justice of parliament: and a high court of justice was now erected for their trial. Hamilton had escaped from

majesty's observation is most right, that our enemies have fomented these differences; and the more care and vigilance is requisite to prevent the dangers of them, butt hold it the best way to neglect them, *spreta exolescunt*: 'Thereby they will fall of themselves; when a public notice and proceeding against them will butt make them the more considerable, men being apt to take in with a prosecuted party; and new fangles please the vulgar, who can least distinguish, and are sonest mislead. Butt many with us hold it a right for every one to be left to take care of his own soule, which concerns none butt himselfe, and that the magistrate ought not to confine, or persecute another into his judgement, for that which concerns the other only, so long as the publique peace is preserved, to which the law of England hath a strict regard; and whosoever, by his opinion or practice, disturbs that peace, is to be severely punished.'—vol. i. p. 275-7. Were men, who thought and reasoned thus, fanatics? Whitelocke gives also an account of conversations that he had with the Archbishop of Upsale, who, says he, "spake Latin fluently, butt not pedantickly, and expressed himselfe with good reason, mixed with chearfulness and learning, especially out of the fathers and human authorities; and he was more ready than others of his coate in texts of holy scripture," p. 388. After some discourse, in which Whitelocke told the archbishop that the prelates in England had been *their own destruction*; butt that there were not wanting learned men in England to interpret the Scriptures, the archbishop says, "then you are injured; for the report goes, that you regard not learning, and that you are pulling downe the famous universities in your country, whereby learning will wholly decay and be destroyed.—*Wh.* That indeed is an injury; and I assure you, that our universities were never in a more flourishing condition than they now are.—*Arch.* I am glad to heare it; and I confess I have not met with such learning in a soldier as you shew." (The reader need not be reminded who Whitelocke was, though he now as an ambassador appeared in a sort of military garb.)—" *Wh.* I am butt meanly learned; butt our universities are full of eminent learned men, and are the fountaines from whence the whole land is watered with the streames of the gospel, by sending out learned men from thence, who labour in Christ's vineyard.—*Arch.* Are your ministers in repute among you?—*Wh.*

prison, but was afterwards seized and arraigned as Earl of Cambridge, and consequently as an English peer subject to the laws of that country. He

Godly, learned, and able ministers, were never in greater repute than they now are.—*Arch.* But I doubt their means is shortened by taking away the church-lands.—*Wh.* The lands of bishops, of deanes, and chapters, are sould; but the parliament added to the means of the preaching ministry near £50,000 Sterling yearly, more than they had before.—*Arch.* That is a good addition: Are their livings in parishes by the tithes, as ours are, and of good value? *Wh.* Their maintenance is by tithes in their respective parishes, and by glebelands: Some of their livings are worth £400, £600, £700 Sterling yearly, and most above £100 yearly.—*Arch.* That is farre beyond the proportion in our countrey: How many spiritual livings have you? —*Wh.* There be in England near 10,000 benefices, there being so many parishes." Id. p. 413, 414. An excellent late publication, by Mr. Orme, an Independent minister in Perth, "the Memoirs of Dr. Owen," throws a great deal of light on this subject, and deserves the serious attention of all who wish for farther information on the religious parties of that age. He quotes the following passage from one of the addresses to the assembly at Westminster by Presbyterian divines, entitled, "The harmonious consent of the Lancashire ministers, with their brether at London." "A toleration would be putting a sword in a madman's hand; a cup of poison into the hand of a child; a letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands; and appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to; a laying of a stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs: Neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all conscience," p. 45. We might give specimens of a similar style from episcopalian divines; but instead of that, let us give one from a statesman, in addition to what we have already quoted from Clarendon. "The House of Commons," says Secretary Nicholas in a letter to a Mr. Edgman, 4th Nov. 1647, "hath again voted the presbytery, with liberty for tender consciences, which is a back door to let in all sects and heresies. The Socinians now begin to appear in great numbers under the title of rationalists; and there are a sect of women lately come from foreign parts, and lodged in Southwark, called quakers, who swell, shiver, and shake; and when they come to themselves, (for, in all the time of their fits,

demurred to the jurisdiction of an English court, as being a native of Scotland, arguing that his title of Earl of Cambridge did not constitute him a

Mahomet's Holy Ghost converses with them) they begin to preach what hath been delivered to them by the spirit." *Clar. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 383. See Neal as to the origin of this sect, vol. iv. p. 32. Nicholas was mistaken. But I would desire the reader to compare this with the passages quoted from Whitelocke and others, and then say where the fanaticism or bigotry was. It is extraordinary that Mr. Hume, a philosopher, should have reiterated too many of the notions promulgated by men who laboured to darken their understandings with fears of universal schism, if not atheism, Mahometism, &c. &c.

But, in his account of Wales, he is most egregiously mistaken. He says, that "almost all the clergy of Wales having been ejected, itinerant preachers, with small salaries, were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these being furnished with horse at the public expense, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel." For this he refers to Dr. John Walker's attempt, and continues: "They were all of them of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades in order to follow their new profession. And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be truly apostolical." Now, as we are well informed by Neal, the inhabitants of Wales were destitute of the means of Christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle, so that they had scarcely a sermon from one quarter to another. The people had neither bibles nor catechisms, nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament, therefore, on the 22d February, 1649, passed an act for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and redress of some grievances—to continue in force for three years. So intent was the parliament on this subject, that it devoted every Friday, says Whitelocke, to consider the ways and means of promoting it. Neal, vol. iv. p. 15. Whitelocke. What happened from this? The following passage occurs: "Letters, that since the act for propagating the gospel in Wales, there were a hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties: most of them preached three or four times a-week. That in every market town there were placed one schoolmaster, and

subject of England; but it was held that, as not contented merely with the title, he had sat as an English peer in the house of lords, and claimed and exercised all the privileges of a peer of that realm, he had necessarily subjected himself to English jurisdiction, and his plea was overruled: his other pleas met with a similar fate; and he was

in most great towns two schoolmasters, able, learned, and *university men*," (he indeed says nothing of their *birth*). "That the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by the act of parliament. 1. To maintain godly ministers. 2. Schoolmasters. 3. *The fifth part to the wives and children of the ejected clergy.* 4. To pay taxes. 5. To pay the officers," p. 543. Those who desire more information on this subject, I would advise to consult Neal, vol. iv. where they will find the erroneousness of Hume's statement fully verified.

I have already said a good deal about the religion of the age. Hume's account is always extravagant; but I am astonished that even he should have written note G to vol. vii. The story of the six soldiers, taken from Clement Walker, is, considering the authority, worthy of no consideration. The remainder of the note is unsupported altogether. But are extravagancies by a few individuals sufficient to stigmatize a whole age? Because the sect of the quakers arose then, we are apt to allow ourselves to be misled. For my part, I question whether there has not been, during the last twenty years, more absurdity on religion, as there has been undoubtedly a greater multiplicity of sects, than in the time of the civil wars and commonwealth. The extravagance even of Nayler, who was a man of some learning, was at least equalled by that of Johanna Southcott, and her disciples were far more numerous, while the delusion lasted a very great deal longer. Can any one enumerate the sects at this day? I could not, even in the good town of Edinburgh. But the government wisely neglects them, and they do mischief to no one. Yet what a picture might be drawn, did we wish to represent the age through the medium of every extravagance. As for tithes, a party did desire their abolition, and some other mode of supporting the clergy as less oppressive; But the parliament resolved to continue the tithes till some other provision, "*as large and as honourable*" were agreed upon. Whitelocke, p. 193. The clergy were judiciously prohibited from interfering with affairs of state. Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1305.

condemned, and suffered. Capel argued that he was not liable to trial at all, for that, on the surrender of Colchester, there was a special article for quarter to the officers, and on that he claimed his life and freedom. The general, Lord Fairfax, was examined as to the import of the articles, (the words did not warrant Capel's construction,) and he declared that it meant only exemption from military execution, not from public justice. It was clearly established that such was the understanding of parties at the time that the articles were entered into. Capel had commenced his career a vehement assertor of public liberty; but, soon seduced by the court, he thenceforth professed, and acted upon the principle of unlimited submission to the throne. Such an individual was not likely to meet with much compassion, and the high tone with which he vindicated his conduct, though it pleased his own party, and is naturally admired by a generous reader, was not calculated to conciliate men to whom the civil war appeared in all its native, disgusting deformity. He was condemned, and died intrepidly. The Earls of Holland and Norwich were also condemned, but their cases were referred to the parliament. That of Norwich was first heard, and the house was equally divided in regard to granting him a pardon, or allowing the sentence to take its course. The speaker's vote was therefore called for, and he having received a kindness from that nobleman, voted in his favour. When the case of the Earl of Holland was heard, the house was again equally divided, and

the speaker's vote was consequently called for. Holland was both a better private character than Norwich, and a preferable citizen; but the same affection did not sway the breast of the speaker, and he sealed his doom.

The present settlement was not agreeable to many attached to the republican cause, to whom it appeared that the parliament, from fondness of power only, delayed to establish matters on the basis of the propositions called the agreement of the people. On the other hand, the house argued, in its own defence, that the present government was never intended for any thing more than a temporary arrangement, till the public tranquillity was sufficiently restored for a general election; and that it was their object to compose matters, and to allow full time calmly to weigh all propositions, before they finally determined on the future constitution. Part of the army, however, was dissatisfied with this, and a portion resisted, but were quickly reduced. The invidious name of levellers was revived, and applied to them, while the absurd proceedings of about thirty fanatics afforded a pretext, which was too much taken advantage of by the ruling party, as well as by the royalists, for accusing those popularly inclined of being corrupted with the same silly and ridiculous notions. These thirty fanatics, under the guidance of one Everard, who had once been a soldier, and now professed himself a prophet, proceeded with spades in their hands to

* Whitelocke, p. 376, *et seq.* Howell's State Trials, vol. iv. p. 1175, *et seq.*

dig the earth, when Everard predicted on the spot that all things would soon be in common. This ridiculous proceeding ended, as might be supposed, in these foolish people's returning to their occupations*. John Lilburn, and others, were more formidable. They presented their propositions for the new government, and were supported by a very large party. Their propositions differed little from those contained in the agreement of the people; but as Lilburn used the language and demeanour of dictator to the parliament, whose measures he arraigned, he was a second time imprisoned, and many took a deep interest in his suffering. Lilburn was ever consistent; with the spirit that he had formerly opposed the court, he now opposed the parliament as disinclined to establish such public liberty as might compensate for the blood which had been shed. We may perhaps allow that he was hasty in condemning; but it cannot be denied that he was honest in maintaining his principles: his talents were considerable; his personal courage beyond the reach of fear, and his resolution immovable. Always inflexible, however, he was accused of never being satisfied with any thing; and it was humorously remarked of him, that if there were no other person in the world but himself, "John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John †."

It will now be necessary to take a view of the Irish affairs. Irish affairs.

* Whitelocke, p. 396, *et seq.*

† Rush. vol. ii. p. 468. Whitelocke, p. 399, *et seq.* Cobbet's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1306.

transactions in Ireland. The catholics there were divided into two parties: The arboriginal Irish, and those of the pale, who, as of English descent, were called the English-Irish. We have already seen that the old Irish were not only more bigotted and ignorant than those of the pale, but inflamed with deeper passions. The Marquis of Ormonde had, as has been stated, negociated a peace more advantageous to the protestants, than the terms agreed upon by Glamorgan, who acted along with the nuncio, in consequence of secret powers from Charles; but the nuncio, secure of the royal support, though it durst not be avowed, had refused to ratify the treaty, thundering forth anathemas against those who adhered to it; and, with the old Irish, continued the war for better terms. Ormonde, having left Ireland, concerted new dispositions with the king and queen; and seduced from the protestant side, Inchiquin, who had fought hitherto against the catholics. When so large a portion of the Scottish army was recalled, Inchiquin, joining the troops with the moderate catholics, turned himself against the wilder party, who refused to be bound by the treaty, and while he compelled Owen O'Neil to cross the Shannon, Clanrickarde besieged the nuncio in the town of Galway. Ormonde now landed, and concluded a second peace, nearly on the same terms as the first, that both parties might be united against the English parliament. As the king's lieutenant, his government over all that disowned the authority of the parliament was nominally acknowledged,

but it was subject to the control of twelve commissioners till the peace should be finally ratified by the legislature.

The hopes of the rebels, however, were soon miserably blighted by a total defeat, which Inchiquin, their new commander, received from Jones, the parliamentary general. But Ormonde, early in the spring, was prepared to take the field; and, at the head of three thousand seven hundred foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, marched towards Dublin, having reduced several garrisons by the way. His object for the reduction was to obstruct supplies by sea; but the plan failed, and he received a total defeat from Jones. The English

Cromwell
sent into
Ireland,
and his suc-
cess.

parliament had been hitherto obliged, in some measure, to neglect Irish affairs; but now, that peace was established at home, it determined to evince the vigour of its counsels in the neighbouring isle. The present lord lieutenant (Lord Lisle, son of the Earl of Leicester) was therefore recalled, and Cromwell sent as commander-in-chief. He set sail with a considerable body of horse and foot, all animated with that spirit which the disgusting atrocities of the Irish had inspired into the hearts of zealous protestants. It was not the temper of this intrepid leader to lose an instant in striking an important blow; and he soon let the Irish feel both his ability and vengeance. Marching to Drogheda, he determined immediately to reduce it, though garrisoned with two thousand foot and a regiment of horse, and deemed by the governor to be impreg-

nable at that season of the year. The place was taken at the third assault, and the garrison, as well as many of the inhabitants, put to the sword. Those saved were destined for the plantations. This has been generally condemned as excessively cruel and bloody, and it undoubtedly was a terrible act; but men must ever be judged of by the standard and feelings of their own times. Such had been the indescribable atrocities of the Irish,—who, not content with murdering men, women, and children, without discrimination, and in an unsuspecting moment of security, had inflicted upon their unresisting victims the most excruciating torments,—that the gates of mercy were barred against them in every heart; and Cromwell, by denying quarter, which they never granted, acted in conformity with the general sentiments of the protestants. The argument of that leader was, that, by rigour in the outset, he would, in reality, save blood, by inclining the catholics to immediate subjection. To blacken the measure, however, it has been said that the majority of the garrison were protestants; but the statement is not authenticated; and, had it even been so, and the fact been known to Cromwell, which there is no reason for presuming, it would not have lessened the public abhorrence at their conduct; since, by their alliance with the Irish Catholics, and supporting them in their measures, they proved themselves to be renegadoes from their own principles, and assumed the guilt of the party with whom they co-operated.

The fate of Drogheda struck such universal terror, that every where the catholics talked of treating, and places of strength yielded at his approach. Ormonde, on the other hand, fell into complete disgrace with the catholics, and the protestant troops under Inchiquin revolted to Cromwell, by which all the towns in Munster fell into his hands. The season, however, was so far advanced before he attempted Waterford, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire into winter quarters.

Owen O'Neil had, in consequence of his disagreement with Ormonde, endeavoured to make his peace with the English parliament; but, as all his offers were sternly rejected, he again united with Ormonde, who now entertained hopes of combining all parties to resist Cromwell in the spring. That great captain took the field early in the season, and was preparing for a second attempt on Waterford, when he was recalled, and the command transferred to Ireton, under the title of deputy. Ireton was not the man to lose the decisive moment. What Cromwell had projected he executed; and Waterford, (which, with other towns, had refused to agree with Ormonde,) was immediately reduced. These successes brought the power of the catholics so low, that they had scarcely an army to take the field: and Ormonde, despised by the soldiers, and execrated by the clergy, was obliged to surrender his command to the Marquis of Clanricarde, and leave the kingdom. Limerick was now the only town of importance in

the possession of the Irish; and such jealousy did the wild party that held it entertain of the other faction, that they refused admission to Clanricarde. As the town was besieged, a party, under Lord Musgrave, advanced to its relief; but as they were beaten back by Lord Broghill, the magistrates determined to surrender the place on terms. The bishops of Limerick and Emly, then in the town, perceiving that they would be delivered up as victims to the conquerors, threatened to excommunicate the citizens if they proceeded in the treaty; and when commissioners were appointed in spite of the threat, they actually excommunicated the city, and published a perpetual interdict against it, recallable only by their retracting the negotiation. The governor, Hugh O'Neil, likewise laboured to prevent a treaty; but a party of the soldiers, under Colonel Fennell, having given admission to about two hundred of the besiegers, the town capitulated. By the articles, the soldiers were to lay down their arms; but had liberty to march where they pleased: The inhabitants were allowed three months to transport themselves and their goods, to any part of the kingdom that should be allotted to them by the parliament. The mayor, the governor, and the two bishops, were excepted. One of the bishops, Limerick, escaped in the disguise of a soldier; the other, with the mayor, was hanged; the governor was shot.

This siege proved fatal to the deputy, whose weak constitution sank under the fatigue. The celebrated

Ludlow succeeded him in the command, and prosecuted the reduction of that kingdom*.

The Scottish commissioners had protested, not only against the trial and condemnation of the late king, but even against the new government. The English parliament, however, far from attending to their protestations, treated their overtures with contempt, and proposed that the Scots should likewise establish a republic, and enter into a federal union with England. This was considered as adding insult to injury; and, on their continued complaints, they were ignominiously conducted to the borders, and dismissed the country†.

Scotland was neither disposed nor prepared to erect itself into a commonwealth. The aristocracy were so powerful, that monarchical authority was necessary to restrain them, and afford protection to the other ranks. The clergy indeed formed a considerable counterpoise, by uniting, under their direction, the great body of the people who were not immediately dependent on the aristocracy; but as, from the state of manufactures and commerce, the bulk of the population depended on the land-owners, the authority of the clergy failed to afford an extensive protection. The aristocracy derived their titles, and nominally their lands too, from the crown; and they were not strangers to the disposition of their vas-

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 293, *et seq.* Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. Whitelocke, p. 391, *et seq.* Milton's Prose Works, vol. ii. p. 315, *et seq.* Clar. vol. v. p. 201, *et seq.* 317, *et seq.* 341-2. 358, *et seq.*

† Id. p. 274, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 367, *et seq.* Cobbe's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1277, *et seq.*

sals to shake off their oppressive feudal tenures, and otherwise curb their power. They indeed desired to transfer the authority of the throne to themselves; but they knew that the appearance of monarchy was necessary to the preservation of their exclusive privileges; and they perceived that the attempt to establish a commonwealth with the preservation of their own power, would probably lead the great body of the people to recall the king, when they, as opposing the measure, would incur general ruin.

With what views the solemn league and covenant had been entered into, we have already sufficiently explained: That many were piously disposed, cannot be disputed: but it is evident that they expected the lucrative offices of church and state as a return for conferring the benefit of the presbyterian system on England. The English, therefore, gave them no credit for their zeal, alleging that their God was forms, and the tenth of every man's estate. The army of sectaries, as they denominated that of England, had blasted all their expectations; but they flattered themselves that the body of the people, as well as the generality of the presbyterian clergy, hated the sectaries, no less than themselves did—an opinion in which they were confirmed by the outcry of the presbyterian clergy on the late king's death. They inferred, therefore that, could they raise an army, and, having recalled the king on their own terms, use his name in an expedition into England, they should be joined by such numbers as might effectuate his restoration, and if they rigorously excluded the

malignants or royalists, really place the power in their own hands. Such were the views of the majority of the Scots; but three parties, already described, still continued; and while the rigid presbyterians in reality justified the execution, though they declaimed against it because they abhorred the instruments by which it was accomplished, and laboured to render the conditions upon which they proposed to restore the exiled monarch so severe, as would have left him scarcely the shadow of authority, and converted him into their tool, the royalists endeavoured to gain the ascendancy by restoring him unconditionally, and thus so binding him to them, as to make it his interest to entrust them wholly with the administration of affairs. But the presbyterians in general resolved to exclude the malignants from all share in either the civil or military department; aware that, once admitted into either, they should, with the king's assistance, soon become the ruling faction. It was on this principle that an attempt by Monroe and Middleton to restore the king unconditionally, was instantly put down, and the Marquis of Huntley, who had been sixteen months in prison, brought, as an example, to the scaffold*.

Such was the state of parties in Scotland, and such the views of the prevailing one; yet, on the

Charles II.
proclaimed
in Scotland.

* Clar. vol. v. p. 271, *et seq.* Burnet's Mem. p. 338. Hist. vol. i. p. 49. Whitelocke, p. 578. Argyle was accused of instigating Huntley's execution: but it appears, by Father Hay's Memoirs, that Argyle retired from the parliament as discontented at the measure; and though, as might be expected, the author accuses that nobleman of having secretly employed all his influence to compass Huntley's death, charity would induce us to believe, in the absence of better authority, that the charge is unfounded. Whitelocke, p. 333.

death of the late king, they proclaimed Charles II. king of England and Ireland, as well as of Scotland, "as the righteous heir and lawful successor." But, they added, "upon the condition of his good behaviour, and strict observation of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation."—"A proclamation," observes Clarendon, "so strangely worded, that though it called him their king, manifested enough to him that he was to be subject to their determinations in all the parts of his government." That the young king might be brought to Scotland upon proper terms, commissioners were sent from the Scottish parliament to the Hague to arrange the business with him. Miserable as was the condition of that prince, and rent as his few attendants were into factions, they were all enraged to find that the Scottish commissioners, instead of inviting Charles back without conditions, acted rather like ambassadors to a foreign state, than what they imagined became subjects to their sovereign. But it is not, indeed, surprising that the royalists, whom they proposed to exclude from the king's presence, should have seen their conduct in the most odious light. To Charles also resorted the lords of the Engagement, Lauderdale, Callender, and Lanerick, now, by his brother's death, Duke of Hamilton, who had, of course, a different policy to pursue. About the same time also came the thorough royalists, Montrose, Kinross, and Seaforth. Lauderdale was so infuriated against Montrose, whose barbarities and indiscriminate slaughter upon his countrymen

Commissioners from Scotland to Charles at the Hague. Treaty, &c.

he expatiated upon, that he refused to have communication with him, and declared that he would rather the king never was restored, than by the assistance of such a man as James Graham; so he, in consequence of Montrose's attainder, denominated that individual, whom he likewise pronounced the author of all the calamities of his country. Montrose, on the other hand, who, misled by childish prophecies, imagined himself the destined restorer of Charles, advised that prince to disdain all propositions, and trust to *his* valiant achievements alone for the recovery of his crowns. The lords of the Engagement, perceiving that all would be lost by a coalition with Montrose, advised Charles to agree with the commissioners from the parliament, hoping that, on the restoration, they might recover their own influence, while they mitigated the terms to him. But Hyde and others strenuously advised Charles against such an agreement, and trusting his person in Scotland without an armed force. Such a measure they naturally abhorred as pregnant with their own ruin, and that of all who had suffered in the royal cause. They therefore supported Montrose; and, while the negotiation was continued with the commissioners, measures of a very different nature were agitated and determined on. We have already detailed the state of affairs in Ireland, sometime before the arrival of Cromwell; and matters being represented as far more flourishing than they were, Charles was advised to transport himself thither, and set himself at the head of the troops commanded by Or-

Assassina-
tion of Do-
rislaus.

monde and Inchiquin; while he secretly granted a commission to Montrose to levy troops in Scotland, and subdue that kingdom unconditionally to the royal power. This plausible scheme was, however, soon defeated. Montrose, who had already so fully shown his aptitude to commit the base and dastardly crime of assassination, now stained his character with that enormity, on the person of Dr. Dorislaus, who had acted as assistant counsel against the late king, and was now English resident at the Hague. Twelve individuals, under his employment, perpetrated the deed, as Dorislaus was unsuspectingly seated at table in his own lodgings. Dorislaus had been bred at Leyden, and was afterwards a professor in Gresham college, and had acted as judge-advocate in Essex's army. To the disgrace of the royalists, this unmanly crime was, not long after, committed on Ascham, who was sent as resident to Madrid, and it continued to be attempted on others: even Whitelocke was threatened during his embassy in Sweden. When the assassination of Dorislaus was announced to the English government, it, with its accustomed vigour, took it so imperiously up, that the states were obliged to do something, though, according to Clarendon, they proceeded "with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the king," conducting the inquisition very slowly, and with such formalities that the assassins might escape. They, however, intimated to the king, that it would be necessary for him to

leave their territory. This somewhat obstructed the preparations, and many advised to delay them, till the parties in Ireland, who declared for him, had composed their mutual animosities. It was also deemed proper that Charles should visit his mother at Paris, previous to the expedition. In the meantime, Montrose, carried away by prophecies and predictions, to which he "was naturally given," that he alone should subdue Scotland, and successfully lead an army into England for the same object, prepared to make a descent on the Scottish coast.

The covenanters, eager to effectuate the restoration of Charles on their own terms, sent to him a second deputation by the Earls of Cassillis and Lothian. The necessities of the French court had obliged Charles to remove to Jersey; but, under the pretext that the island had not sufficient accommodations, the treaty was transferred to Breda. The propositions carried by these noblemen were, that Charles should not only take the covenant himself, but impose it on all classes without toleration; that malignants should be of course excluded, and the monarch be subject to the control of the parliament in civil affairs, and of the assembly in ecclesiastical. Against propositions so severe towards the royalists, that party

Another deputation to Charles from Scotland, and treaty of Breda.

* Glar. vol. v. p. 304. See p. 278, *et seq.* Clarendon accuses the lords of the Engagement, with being actuated only with a desire of being restored to their estates, p. 299. But what were his own motives for opposing the treaty? Journal of Whitelocke's Embassy, and Memorials.

bitterly declaimed; representing them as injurious to the memory of the late king, and unworthy of the present, either as a sovereign or as a man; as destructive of monarchy, and sacrilegious to the church. The most galling part of the proceeding, however, was, that the commissioners were restrained from intimating any purpose to regain for him the English throne *.

Whatever scruple of conscience Charles might affect in regard to the covenant, he really felt none; for he had at this moment secretly embraced the catholic faith, while he professed the protestant; and was advised, not only by the Prince of Orange, but by his own mother, to the hypocritical act of taking the covenant. His real motive for protracting the treaty was, that Montrose might have an opportunity to attempt the realizing of his extravagant promises. This individual had visited the Swedish court for the purpose of obtaining assistance in a cause, which the royalists loudly proclaimed to be that of monarchs in general. But his reception there was not commensurate with his expectations, for he merely obtained some hundred stand of arms. From thence he proceeded to Denmark, where he found the monarch sufficiently hearty in the cause, but destitute of means of promoting it; for, besides his poverty, he was in no estimation with his own subjects, and, consequently, could not expect their co-operation. Montrose, however, received

Proceed-
ings of
Montrose.

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 342, et seq. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 316, et seq.

a small advance of money; and, in the spring, (1650,) sailed for the Orkneys, with six hundred Germans, commanded chiefly by Scottish exiles. Lands in Scotland.

The barbarous and wretched inhabitants of the Orkneys had lived remote from the broils which had convulsed the British empire, and had taken no interest in the issue. Unacquainted with land-service, they could not, without previous training, which the conjuncture would not admit of, be formidable in the field; and except under their own superiors, they could have no spirit in any undertaking. Montrose, however, insisted upon their acting under his banners; and, as they were unprepared for resistance, eight hundred were easily impressed into the service. His object was to cross to the main-land, that, amid the northern clans, he might raise a large army: but, as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland, miserable was his disappointment to perceive that the inhabitants, instead of flocking to his standard, every where fled at his approach. From the horrors of civil war, these counties had hitherto been exempt; but the fame of Montrose's dreadful exploits had too fully reached them, not to spread dismay at his approach at the head of foreign troops. The committee of the Estates were sufficiently vigilant to be prepared for his reception; and Strachan, who had served under Cromwell, and had formerly defeated Middleton, was dispatched with three hundred horse to obstruct his progress, while Leslie followed with four thou-

Montrose
defeated,
27th April,
1650, and
taken.

sand more. Montrose never seems to have been qualified for any combined operations on an extensive scale; but possibly the prophecies or predictions on which he relied, had now disordered his understanding, as his former penetration deserted him. Without cavalry he could fight to advantage on the mountains only, and yet he trusted himself in the champaign country. As he advanced beyond the pass of Invercarron, on the confines of Ross-shire, without intelligence regarding the opposite party, the small force under Strachan issued from an ambuscade in three divisions against him. The first division was repulsed; but the second, headed by Strachan himself, put the whole of Montrose's troops to the rout: The islanders threw down their arms; and the foreigners, having retreated to a wood, surrendered. Montrose's own horse had been shot under him; but his friend, Lord Friendnought, generously gave him his; and he, having borrowed the clothes of a poor countryman, escaped in that disguise. His cloak, star, and garter, however, having been found swimming down a river, enabled his pursuers to ascertain the course he had taken; and a friend, whom he trusted, betrayed him to Leslie.

By Leslie he was conducted in triumph, in the mean habit he had assumed, till they reached Dundee, where he purchased a suit becoming his rank: whether it was in the power of Leslie to afford him an exchange of garb sooner, or that, according to the accounts of the royalists, he exulted in the mean-

ness of his prisoner's garments, we shall not pretend to determine. At Dundee, which had formerly suffered from him, he is said to have met with more pity than from other quarters: he was elsewhere assailed with curses. He had been previously attainted as well as excommunicated, and his doom was therefore sealed. The magistrates of Edinburgh received him as the blackest criminal. With his arms pinioned with cords, and his principal officers coupled together, preceding him, he was placed on an elevated cart, and ignominiously conducted through the streets. But we must not rashly credit the enemies of Argyle, when they assert, that, seated at a window, he feasted his eyes on the humiliation of his enemy. All these indignities Montrose bore with fortitude; but when reproached in parliament, previous to his sentence, with his manifold enormities, his temper forsook him: he vindicated his breach of the covenant, by alleging their rebellion; his various appearances in arms by the commissions of his sovereign; and impudently asserted that he had never shed blood except in battle, and that he had taken up arms on the present occasion to accelerate the treaty. He was sentenced to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, and to hang for three hours; to have his head affixed to the jail, and a limb to be placed in each of the other four principal towns of Scotland;—Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen; and to have the trunk buried among the common malefactors, unless he were relaxed from the censures of the church.

His treatment and sentence.

Execution
of Mont-
rose, 16th
May, 1650.

Montrose preserved his spirit to the last, and amused himself with embodying his feelings of loyalty in verse, which, however, was, as poetry, no less execrable than his actions had been as a member of society. The clergy endeavoured to extort from him a sense of contrition, and refused him absolution, unless he manifested repentance; but his proud heart remained unsubdued. "Far from being troubled that my limbs are to be sent to your principal towns," said he, "I wish that I had flesh enough to be dispersed throughout christendom, to attest my dying attachment to my king." He appeared next day on the scaffold in a rich suit; but a history of his enormities was, by the public order, suspended from his neck. This, charity would induce us to believe, flowed more from the desire of rendering the spectacle an impressive act of justice, than of embittering the last moments of a criminal, however flagrant his demerits. He smiled, and told them he was prouder of the history than he had ever been of the garter. Having finished his prayers, and demanded if any farther insult were intended, he calmly submitted to his fate.

That writers—who represent Montrose as fired with the generous, though perhaps mistaken, ambition of loyally serving his prince, as a hero of a magnanimous spirit and decided genius, who splendidly took that part in the contest which his conscience dictated—should depict, in the most odious colours, the treatment to which he was exposed, is not wonderful; for many may concur in

the exalted sentiment of the younger Vane, that he always respected the adherents of both parties, as they were true to their principles; but it is strange to find the treatment condemned, and the victim sympathized with, by any writer who represents him as having taken terrible vengeance on Aberdeen for refusing the covenant, and then having betrayed the cause when he could not be leader; as having projected the assassination of Argyle and the Hamiltons, as well as the massacre of the covenanters, in an hour of unsuspecting confidence; as having trampled on all the laws of war and humanity, in introducing the bigoted and cruel Irish to burn towns and villages, and indiscriminately slaughter man, woman, and child; as having assassinated Dorislaus, and as, during the treaty, having projected an invasion, calculated to defeat its every object, before the design was even suspected: yet some writers have committed this inconsistency. Should there be any who still lament the death of Montrose, let them yet not be overhasty in the condemnation of his enemies for inflicting it; but reflect, that men who had narrowly escaped his assassinations and massacres, were naturally steeled against compassion; that those who had lost their nearest and dearest relations—relations whose age or sex prevented resistance—not by the common course of war, but by cold-blooded, indiscriminate, unmanly vengeance; that they who had seen their children, that had escaped fire and sword, only doomed to perish by famine, in consequence of his horrid devastations—could not

be expected to soar so far above the level of humanity, as not to feel some desire to see him brought to an infamous end. Revenge is ever to be condemned; but, under such circumstances, what breast could rise altogether above the feeling? We, however, will venture to assert that, if there were such a thing as law or justice in existence, Montrose could not escape his doom. Argyle is said to have urged it on; but as Montrose's known enemy, he declined taking an ostensible part in the condemnation.

That Montrose was decidedly brave, none will deny; but it is not astonishing that, under his circumstances, his spirits should have risen superior to his fate. The man who steadily pursues the dictates of his conscience, unsupported by any party, may allow his heart, at times, to sink under persecution; but there is no merit in a heroic appearance on a scaffold, when the individual acts under the impression that the fame of it, extending to every part of the civilized world, will elicit the applause of all whose approbation he esteems, and, in all probability, will be recorded to his credit in the history of the eventful period.

The character of this individual has already been depicted: his military genius was no longer triumphant than when opposed by unskilful commanders: The prophecies and predictions which misled him, yet inspired him with romantic hopes, which a cooler head would not have entertained; but, engaging him in adventures which were accompanied with a delusive success, that

ought not to have been anticipated, created for him a name that a greater military genius could not, under his circumstances, have earned.

Some of his followers suffered likewise: amongst these was Hurry. This officer, as we have already partly related, had first entered into the service of the parliament, and then deserted and betrayed them: He had not been long with the king before he fell also under the suspicions of the royalists, and was dismissed from the camp. After this, he proffered his services to his own countrymen against the king, and was employed against this very Montrose, when his conduct did not escape suspicion of a second treachery. He latterly went again over to the royal side, and now suffered as the follower of Montrose. Lord Friendnought, in order to avoid the ignominy of a public execution, starved himself to death*.

No sooner did the news of Montrose's defeat reach Charles, than, as the only means by which he could recover his crowns, he agreed to the terms proposed by the Scottish commissioners, and accompanied them to Scotland.

Charles agrees with the Scottish commissioners, and sails for Scotland.

The English parliament had been perfectly informed of all these negotiations, and, when they heard of the king's arrival in Scotland, they instantly determined to carry the hostilities, which appeared to be inevitable, into that country. For this purpose was Cromwell summoned from Ire-

Proceedings of the English parliament.

* Wishart's Mem. of Montrose, ch. iv.--viii. Father Hay's Mem. MS. p. 383. Nichol's Diary, MS. Adv. Lib. Laing, vol. i. p. 419-20. Clar. vol. v. p. 351, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 451, *et seq.*

Conduct of
Fairfax,
who declines
the com-
mand.

land, while Fairfax was solicited to take the chief command. At first his lordship appeared not disinclined to the undertaking; but the continued dissuasions of his wife, who was under the influence of a Scottish presbyterian parson, are said to have prevailed with him to refuse the command, on the principle that it was against the solemn league and covenant to begin the war with that people. Upon this the council of state sent a deputation to wait on his excellency, and use all their endeavours to prevail with him to accept of the employment. The deputies were, St. John, Whitelocke, Cromwell, Harrison, and Lambert; and though all of these were urgent, none pressed the general so far as Cromwell, "who," says Ludlow, "acted his part so to the life, that I thought him sincere." The same opinion was entertained by all the commissioners, till subsequent events induced them to alter it. The ground assumed by Fairfax was, that the invasion of Scotland could not be justified, as that people had proclaimed no war with England, and it was contrary to the solemn league and covenant for the one country to commence war against the other. To this it was answered, that the Scots had already broken the covenant by the late Engagement; that this had indeed been disavowed by a subsequent parliament or party; but that their whole conduct latterly had evinced a determination to support the cause of Charles Stuart against the people of England, and, not content with proclaiming him king of Scotland only, they had presumed also to proclaim him king of England and Ireland: That,

therefore, however they might talk of peace, war was inevitable, and the only question was, whether Scotland should be the seat of war, or that people be unmolestedly allowed to organize their forces, till they were prepared to march into England, and be joined by a party there, which would inevitably bring more miseries upon the country, and alienate the affections of the people. Fairfax allowed that war was probable, and he declared his willingness to march against them if they entered England; but he conceived it proper to delay hostilities till the event occurred. War was, however, resolved on, and he resigned the command; "whereby," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his owne name, which every day wore out." But his retirement from public life, and subsequent advancement of the restoration, induced the royalists to adopt the most extraordinary course in vindication of his character as one of their party. According to the account transmitted of him from the best authorities, he was, though slow in resolving, steady to his purpose when formed, and of a perspicacious judgment; his inconsistency at the king's trial, where he was under the influence of his wife, and possibly of motives which he did not think it prudent to express, having been an exception to his general conduct; but the royalist writers, in their attempt to make it appear that he was inclined towards their principles, represent him as having been so dull and devoid of understanding, as to have been made a property of, or a mere machine, in the hands of

Cromwell. A portion of his memoirs, which were published as written by himself, is calculated in some measure to confirm the idea, but we have already said that the statement there is so contradicted by documents under his own hand, that we must in charity believe that part an interpolation, unless we agree with Mrs. M'Auley, that it was written in dotage, and while he had fallen under the influence of his son-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham. Cromwell was soon ready to march into Scotland at the head of sixteen thousand men*.

The young king lands in Scotland, and his treatment there, &c.

Charles reached the Scottish coast in consequence of the negotiation with him; but he was not permitted to enter the country before he took the covenants. The lords of the Engagement had hoped that the return of the king would be attended with their own restoration; but the present powers, perceiving the necessary consequences,—that the king would colleague with them, whose influence was so powerful, in order to crush the rigid covenanters,—insisted on their immediate departure, as well as that of Charles's other attendants. A union of parties, indeed, would have most effectually resisted the power of England; but the clergy, and others of the ruling party, perceived that, as the lords of

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 314-15. Whitelocke, p. 460. Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 171. See p. 167. Probably a reason may there be found for Fairfax's conduct:—That Cromwell had so modelled the army, that he (Fairfax) would have found himself destitute of the power and deference which he had formerly enjoyed. This author says that Cromwell was sincere; but both Whitelocke and Ludlow say that they thought him so all the time. It was his subsequent conduct which induced suspicion of his candour.

the Engagement would raise their adherents, and Charles would unquestionably join with them, such a junction would be no less fatal to their interest than the success of the sectaries. The ridicule directed against them for their conduct in refusing the coalition, has been therefore misplaced, as they acted, in so far as their own interest was concerned, from sound views of human policy, and not from the contracted bigotry ascribed to them: Indeed, their only object in recalling the king against the feelings of the English government was to secure those very interests which a union with the lords of the Engagement would have ruined, while, by a federal union with England, they would not have been in immediate hazard. The clergy, however, are accused by their enemies of having resorted to many unworthy stratagems to raise the popular feeling: the pulpits resounded against the sectaries; and it was reported that, in a village, consisting of fourteen families, they discovered as many witches. Yet the learning and talents of the Scottish clergy, together with the diffusion of religious knowledge amongst the people, ought to induce us at once to reject a story circulated against them in England, without the mention of name or place, that some ministers had, in their public prayers from the pulpit, used the most blasphemous language to the Deity,—that if he did not subdue their enemies, he should no longer be their God—language which could be believed only of polytheists in their addresses to a tutelar god, and which was, therefore, utterly repugnant to

the genius of both people and clergy in Scotland*.

All outward respect was paid to Charles; but he was strictly guarded by the party in power, while a solemnity of deportment, as well as an observance of religion, was required, which little corresponded with a disposition accustomed to treat the most serious obligations of morality with derision.

Lieutenant-General D. Leslie appointed to the command of the Scottish army; and proceedings of the covenanters, &c.

The command of the Scottish army was conferred on David Leslie, and the country betwixt Edinburgh and Berwick almost entirely laid waste, that the English forces might be deprived of subsistence. As Cromwell entered the country, where the universal poverty surprised and shocked his soldiers †, the inhabitants fled from his approach, the clergy having told them that the English would cut the throats of all the males between sixteen and sixty, mutilate off their right hands all under sixteen and above six, and burn the women's breasts with hot irons. "The clergy," says Captain Hodgson, who served in Cromwell's army, "highly incensed against us, represent us to the people as if we had been the monsters of the world ‡." In their

* Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 1, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 416, *et seq.* See p. 465, about the alleged language of the ministers. It was announced in letters from the army on its advance to Berwick.

† Clarendon, vol. vii. p. 367.

‡ "In the march between Mordington and Copperspith, we saw not any Scotchman in Eyton and other places which we passed thorow; but the streets were full of Scotch women, pitiful sorry creatures, clothed in white flannell, in a very homely manner; very many of them bemoaned their husbands, who, they said, were enforced by the lairds of the towns to gänge to the muster." "Relation of the fight at Leith, neere Edinburgh," published along with Slingsby's and Floodson's memoirs, dispatches, and letters, relative to this campaign, p. 207.

march, therefore, the English saw not for a considerable time any Scotsmen under sixty years of age, nor any boys above six, and but a very few women and children *: the women, too, fell down on their knees, begging of them not to burn their breasts, and the children followed their mother's instructions in praying for their lives. Cromwell had too much good sense not instantly to adopt measures for dissipating those terrors. He published a declaration inviting all to remain in their houses, without fear of molestation; and at the same time strictly enjoined his officers and soldiers not to offer the slightest violence to the persons or goods of any not immediately connected with the Scottish army. Having heard that some stragglers were guilty of violating the order, he cashiered one or two, and issued out another edict, &c. on which two or three were brought to punishment, not to go half a mile from the main body on pain of death. Some Scottish troopers, who were taken, were dismissed with kindness†.

In the mean time, a large body of the *Engagers*, without the consent of the committees of church and state, had embodied to join the Scottish army; but as it was easily seen that if this party were once allowed to take the field in considerable numbers, they, under the royal protection, would soon gain the ascendancy, and frustrate all the mea-

* Hodgson's Mem. p. 128, 131. Relation of the fight at Leith, p. 208. Relation of the campaign in Scotland. Id. p. 292. Whitelocke, p. 466.

† Whitelocke, p. 465, 466.

asures of the present ruling party, they were ordered to disband: upwards of eighty officers were, on the same account, dismissed from the army^a. The spirit of the *Engagers* inspired further distrust of the king himself, which was confirmed by his refusing to sign a proclamation prepared in his name, in which he is made to say, that as it had pleased the Lord in his gracious goodness and tender mercy to discover unto him the great evil of the ways wherein he had been formerly led by wicked counsel, and had so far blessed the endeavours of this kirk and kingdom, his majesty had now sworn and subscribed the solemn league and covenant, and was most willing and desirous to grant the propositions of both kingdoms presented to his royal father at Newcastle and Hampton-court, with such alterations and additions as

^a Sir Edward Walker says, that 4000 of the best troops were dismissed, and Hume represents the matter in glowing colours. But if the covenanters were right in their desire to keep the power, the policy was sound. With all their alleged or real fanaticism, they never overlooked the principles of sound policy, so far as their own party interest was concerned. Laing corrects Walker, and quotes a MS. of Balfour's. "Some shorte memories and passages of staite, from the 5 of Julii this zeir 1650, to the 28 day of November this same zeir," to shew that only above eighty officers were dismissed. But I conceive, that though Walker is a very bad authority, if Laing had observed the following passage in a letter to Baillie, dated 20th December, 1650, he would have seen that Walker was correct here. "A strong party in the north, whom we have excluded from the army for the late engagement, did put themselves in arms without public order." Now, he says they had been excluded before. I conceive, therefore that the eighty officers alluded to by Balfour, were dismissed after this body. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 347. Walker, p. 164, *et seq.* Baillie's Letters throw much light on the state of parties and their views. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 165.

should be thought necessary for the good of the king and kingdom; and to give such satisfaction to his people of England, as should be desired by his two houses of parliament sitting in freedom; but that, though the sectarian army, which had now, under Cromwell, invaded Scotland, contrary to the solemn league and covenant, had used force on the two houses, and had put his father to death, contriving the subversion of all governments, civil and ecclesiastical, and to subject all persons to their tyrannical usurpation, he yet, believing that the majority had been misled, offered a free pardon to all—except those who had sat in parliament, in measures against his father, after the force used on the two houses,—who should instantly join the Scottish army. The king's declining to subscribe this proclamation, together with the conduct of the *Engagers*, induced the committees to insist on his removing to a distance from the camp, lest he should debauch the army. A large declaration, of a far stronger kind, was now brought to him; and, as he positively refused to sign it, the clergy thundered out from their pulpits next day, that they were deceived in him, as he was the very root of malignancy, and an utter enemy to the kingdom of Christ; and that, as he had only taken the covenant to gain his private ends, they must take heed of him and the heathen people about him. The commissioners of the General Assembly then met, and drew up a declaration, in which, having stated that there might be just grounds of stumbling,

from his refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him,—they declare that “the kirk and kingdom do not own or espouse any malignant party, or quarrel, or interest; but that they fight merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they have done these twelve years past; and, therefore, as they did disclaim all the sin and guilt of the king and of his house, so they will not own him nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father’s opposition to the work of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient speed, take into consideration the papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods contained therein, especially in those things wherein the ground betwixt us and that party is misstated, as if we owned the late king’s proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present majesty’s interest, before and without acknowledgment of the sins of his house and former ways, and satisfaction to God’s people in both kingdoms.” The committee of estates approved of this, and the officers of the army having sent to the committee of estates a remonstrance against malignants to a similar effect, received a gracious answer, confirming the declaration. The declaration was shewn to Cromwell by the party most averse to the king; but his answer is re-

ported to have been, that he would not juggle with them; that he came there for their king, and that if they would deliver him up he would treat, but not otherwise.—The state of the Scottish army appeared now prosperous; the party at the helm consequently triumphant; and the young king, who had no sincerity, at last agreed to a declaration, which they prepared: That, though it became him as a dutiful son to honour his father's memory, and to esteem his mother, yet that he was deeply afflicted in spirit before God, because of his father's hearkening unto and following evil counsel, and his opposition to the work of reformation and to the solemn league and covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been shed in these kingdoms; and for his mother's idolatry, the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was a matter of great stumbling unto all the protestant churches, so it could not be but a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father on the children: That, though he might extenuate his own conduct, yet that he freely acknowledged all his own sins and the sins of his father's house: That, from a full conviction of the justice and equity of the solemn league and covenant, he had subscribed it and sworn to it, declaring that he had not entered into the oath of God with his people upon any sinister intention and crooked design for attaining his own ends; but, so far as human weakness would permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart, and

that he would ever promote that grand object. He professes that he will have no enemies but those of the covenant: That he detested all popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy, and all errors, schism, and profaneness, and had resolved to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power; and, in the meantime, he commanded all who pretended to espouse his interest, to do it upon that ground; and therefore recalled all commissions granted to any who did not adhere to the covenant: That he disclaimed the peace with Ireland, and the toleration of the catholic superstition in that kingdom: That, no less anxious to do justice to his good subjects of England and Ireland, he would accord to the propositions formerly tendered by both kingdoms, if the two houses would still tender them: He declares that it is upon these grounds he calls on all the people to oppose the sectaries. Not satisfied even with this, the clergy appointed a solemn fast and humiliation for the sins of his father's house, and for his own *.

Military
affairs.

We now return to military affairs. Leslie had taken up a strong position, properly entrenched, betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. The line extended from the Canongate (or lower part of the old town) across the Calton Hill, which was strongly fortified, to Leith, which was likewise fortified: A deep trench, mounted with cannon, fortified the whole line on the low ground, while the castle

* Walker, p. 163, *et seq.*

was at that time deemed a place of great strength. Cromwell found it in vain to attempt forcing the trenches, and after facing them, he retreated to Musselburgh for provisions; his supplies arriving by sea either there or a little above Leith. On his retreat to Musselburgh his rear was attacked; but the Scots were repulsed with some loss; and the English general, to prove to the satisfaction of the people how much he was misrepresented, and how false were the reports of success which had been circulated by the enemy, sent the principal wounded officers in his own coach, and the rest in waggons, to Edinburgh castle. Having refreshed his army, which had suffered much from a very heavy rain, he again returned to Edinburgh, in expectation of drawing Leslie beyond his entrenchment; but though he dislodged a party which had been posted on the north side of Arthur Seat, he could not move the Scottish general from his ground. To effect this object, therefore, he marched to the west, near the foot of the Pentlands, that, by interposing betwixt Edinburgh and Stirling, he might intercept supplies, and thus oblige the Scots to follow him. Afraid of this measure, Leslie moves to the west, in a line farther to the north; and now Cromwell believed that he should be able to meet him on fair ground: But the local knowledge of Leslie enabled him, owing to the ravines and other inequalities of surface, so dexterously to shift his positions, as to preclude a possibility of reaching him. On one occasion, indeed, Cromwell believed that the juncture was

come; but as the troops advanced, a bog was found to interpose between them and the enemy. It was at this time, when the two armies were lying very near each other, that Cromwell, having gone to reconnoitre, rebuked on the spot a Scottish trooper who discharged his carabine at him, saying, that if he had been one of his men, he would have had cashiered him for firing at such a distance. After spending some days in this position to no purpose, Oliver was obliged to return to the sea-side for victuals; but now his whole army began to be dispirited; the weather had been exceedingly rainy, and their privations great; while there appeared no prospect of drawing the Scots from their strong ground*. Sickness too was engendered in the army, and the season was rapidly advancing: It was therefore deemed ad-

* Hodgson, p. 231, *et seq.* Relation of the fight at Leith, and other letters in same collection. Whitelocke, p. 466, *et seq.* In one of the letters referred to above, there is the following passage: "Captain Wilford, a gentleman in my lord's own troop, being on Tuesday taken prisoner, (his horse being killed under him,) was carried to Leith, where he was very courteously used by Lieutenant-General David Lesley, who kept him at his own house; where resorted to him divers of their ministers and commanders, who demanded of him how long he had served under antichrist, that proud man Cromwell; over whose head the curse of God hung for murdering the king, breaking the covenant, and they did expect daily when the Lord should deliver him into their hands; they saying, he termed his guns his twelve apostles, and that he put his whole confidence in them; and the commanders, old cavaliere like, did swear most desperately, that they had taken eighteen of our colours; and the ministers said that our ships in the haven were revolted to the king: which your London cavaliers may perhaps believe," p. 230-1. This shews how little the vulgar reports are to be trusted.

visible to retreat to Dunbar, where they might establish a garrison, which it was thought, if any thing could, would provoke the enemy to fight; where they had a good harbour for receiving supplies of provisions from England; where, being within thirty miles of Berwick, they could easily receive reinforcements that were expected; where, during contrary winds, or stormy weather, they could obtain supplies by land; and, from which, as the distance to Berwick was scarcely more than one day's march, they might at any time that the exigency required it, leave the country; and yet be ready to pour in upon it on any favourable occasion, which might suddenly present itself*. At Musselburgh, they shipped off about six hundred sick for Dunbar, and, on Saturday, the 31st of August, marched to Haddington. The Scots, now imagining the enemy to be in full march to Eng-

The retreat
of the Eng-
lish army to
Dunbar.

* Cromwell, in his dispatch about the battle of Dunbar, writes thus: "Upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy lying upon his advantages, at a general council it was thought fit to march to Dunbar, and there to fortify the town, which, we thought, of any thing, would provoke them to engage; as also the having a garrison there, would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men, would be a place for a good magazine, (which we exceedingly wanted, being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done, though the being of the whole army lay upon it; all the coasts from Leith to Berwick not having one good harbour;) as also to lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick," p. 294. See also another letter, p. 267 of the collection, published with Slingsby's and Hodgson's Memoirs. See also Hodgson himself, p. 144. Hence it is evident that the vulgar account is erroneous.

land, presumptuously thought only of obstructing their retreat, and destroying them. On the Saturday evening, the 31st of August, as the English army marched by moonlight, they were closely followed, and the rear assailed with such impetuosity, as might have been productive of loss and even danger, had not a cloud suddenly passed over the moon, and so obscured the field, that the Scots were obliged to suspend their operations till the English were prepared to repulse them. That evening they quartered at Haddington, and next morning it was hoped that the enemy, who were quite close upon them, would engage. Cromwell took up his position a little to the south of the town, and waited four or five hours in expectation of the attack. Leslie, however, who had occupied the higher ground a little farther to the south, was not inclined to leave his position; and Cromwell, considering the other's situation, did not think it prudent to be the assailant*. He therefore ordered

* Walker, to throw ridicule on the rigid covenanters, in whose loss at Dunbar he with his master rejoiced, says, that Leslie had an opportunity of destroying the English army on Sunday, and that the clergy prevented him, alleging it would involve the nation in the sin of Sabbath breaking. But did not the march do the same thing? An attack was exactly what Cromwell wished; and it is strange to observe the inconsistent statement of Hume. He sends Leslie to the heights of Lammermuir, at the distance of about from six to eight miles, and where he never could possibly march, the ravines, &c. would have precluded it, and yet he adopts the story of Walker about the Sabbath. He ridicules the clergy for insisting on Leslie leaving Down Hill to meet Cromwell, and yet holds them up to scorn for preventing him attacking the English on equal ground!

his army to march to Dunbar. As they approached that town, Leslie, who had hung all the time on their rear, took a direction to the south of a marsh, now almost entirely drained, and richly cultivated, and pitched his camp on Down-Hill, in the vicinity of the town; while, supposing the enemy to be in retreat to England, he sent forward a party to seize the pass at Cockburn's path, where, as Cromwell says in his dispatch, "ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way."

Down-Hill is not distant two miles from Dunbar. In itself it is small, the largest base not being a mile in extent; but it forms part of a range of hills, which connect with the Lammermuirs. Between the sea and that range, extends a low and fertile stripe of land, terminated on the south-east by the Lammermuirs. This low ground holds its communication with the rest of the fertile tract which extends to Edinburgh, by a passage near to Dunbar. On the north and west, Down-Hill is so steep, as to be almost inaccessible. On the south it is also steep, though far less so. On the east it slopes down to the sea with such a gentle declivity that one might gallop up. By the north side runs a small stream, which passes through the grounds of Broxmouth-house. Before it enters the park, the banks are so steep (except at one point to the west, which was occupied by Cromwell, to prevent a surprise by the enemy) that neither army could pass it in the face of the other without great disadvantage. From the termination of these banks to the sea at the nearest point, the distance

Position of
the Scots on
Down-Hill

is not great; and, according to the description, the pass had been still more contracted by the marshy nature of the ground, and probably too by the state of the park about Broxmouth house, the seat of the Earl of Roxburgh.

Leslie had drawn up his troops to face the north, and, consequently, the English army. The left wing was near the top of the hill, the right towards the base. On the Monday evening, however, he was observed to bring his cavalry from the left to the right, and his foot still farther down the hill. As the accounts transmitted to us of Leslie's motives are not to be relied upon, it is impossible to ascertain exactly by what he was really influenced. An idea pervaded the Scottish army, that the English were completely in their power; that they might destroy them, and march forthwith to England; and that such was Cromwell's situation, that he had already embarked part of his foot and ordnance, and meant to break through with his cavalry alone*. Leslie therefore

* Carte has published an original account of the battle of Dunbar, by Cadwell, a messenger of the army who was on the spot, and who says, "that on Monday evening three soldiers were taken, and one of them was first examined by Leslie, who asked him if the enemy did intend to fight? he replied, what did he think they came there for?—they came for nothing else. Soldier," says Leslie, "how will you fight, when you have shipped half of your men and all your great guns? The soldier replied, Sir, if you please to draw down your army to the foot of the hill, you shall find both men and great guns also. One standing by asked him how he durst answer the general so saucily? He told him that he only made answer to the question demanded of him." Carte's *Let.* vol. i. p. 382. *Balfour's Shorter Memorics*, MS. Adv. Lib.

might think of attacking them in the moment of embarking, or might only intend to place himself in a more exact line of interposition. He might, however, have other reasons no less potent. The English army was indeed in a critical predicament, and was reminded of the condition of Essex's army when it surrendered to the king in Cornwall. The expected reinforcements from Berwick were stopped, as well as all supply of provisions by land. In the event of discomfiture, or failure of a supply of provisions by sea, which, owing to contrary winds, might occur, they, as little could be drawn from the exhausted country, might soon be reduced to extremities. But, on the other hand, Leslie's own position was likewise critical. The height exposed his troops to the inclemency of the season, which was exceedingly rainy and tempestuous; and his supplies could come only from the country to the west, the communication with which was obstructed by Cromwell's army. The hill did not afford one drop of water, and, therefore, if he resolved to retain his position, he could draw it only from the stream already described, or possibly another to the south; while the hill could not supply the horses with forage*. Besides all this, as the hill is perfectly accessible, Cromwell might transport his army beyond the pass already described, and charge them up the acclivity, when, from the contracted nature of the ground, they could not take

* Carte's Letters, vol. i. p. 381.

advantage of their superiority of numbers; and, in the event of discomfiture, retreat, owing to the steepness of the west and north banks, would have been impracticable.

Battle of
Dunbar,
3d Sept.
1650.

Cromwell, and Major-General Lambert, having gone to Broxmouth house to view the position of the enemy on the Monday evening, "I told him," said the first, "I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me: so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts at the same instant*." Colonel Moncke was called, who agreed with them on the practicability of the measure; and the general, having returned to his quarters, summoned the other colonels, who all cheerfully concurred, when the plan of the engagement was formed for the following morn at day break. Six regiments of horse, and three and a half of foot, were appointed for the van. During the night, however, Leslie prudently seized the pass, and that was the grand point of contention next morning; but as the night was rainy and tempestuous, the Scots suffered much, while the English were under cover.

* Cromwell's dispatch, in the volume already referred to, p. 298. This is a complete answer to the gossiping relation by Burnet, which has been turned to such good account by Hume, and adopted by Laing, that Cromwell's army being engaged in a fast, he observed the Scots coming down, through his glass, and exclaimed, "the Lord has delivered them into our hands." No cotemporary account gives countenance to it.

Lambert not having been able to bring up the artillery so quickly as he expected, the attack did not begin till nearly six o'clock, and Cromwell was impatient. The first regiment of horse was so gallantly received, that it was obliged to fall back; but Cromwell having called up his own regiment of foot, which, like his regiment of horse, was ever invincible, it carried the pass with butt end of musket and push of pike. More troops were pressed down by Leslie upon this point; but the English foot made their way, and the horse resolutely charged through both cavalry and infantry, "who," says Cromwell, "were, after the first repulse given, made by the Lord of Hosts as stubble to their swords." At this moment, about seven o'clock, the sun, hitherto obscured by a foggy horizon, burst in splendour on the German ocean; "and," writes Captain Hodgson, "I heard Old Noll say, 'now, let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered *.' It was so indeed. His next exclamation was, 'I profess they run;' and, in an instant, charged through and through up the hill, they everywhere fled. Had they been allowed to rally at the top of the hill, possibly they might have renewed the conflict; but some large guns, judiciously placed at the foot of the north-west ascent, played with such effect as to dislodge them thence; and now the steepness of the north and west banks, with the stream, to which they had

* See Psalm lxviii. 1.

trusted for their security, proved their ruin, for retreat there was impracticable; and though part fled towards the south, where they were still farther from their resources, the great body, throwing down their arms, tried to escape by Dunbar, and thus necessarily fell into the enemy's hands. About ten thousand, including many officers, were taken prisoners; the rest were pursued with great slaughter to Haddington, and by one regiment even beyond that town. Upwards of three thousand were slain, including some of the clergy, a body, of whom few escaped without broken heads. All their ordnance, consisting of forty guns, great and small, some of them of leather, fell into the hands of the victors; while above fifteen thousand stand of arms were picked up from the field. Nearly two hundred stand of colours graced the conquest. Cromwell ordered the hundred and seventh psalm to be sung on the field, and the army returned "to bless God in their tents, like Is-sachar *; for the great salvation afforded to them that day †." About one half of the prisoners, as wounded, were dismissed; the rest were sent to England ‡. The victory was gained with scarcely the loss of twenty men.

Effects of
the victory
at Dunbar.

This victory produced a complete revolution in affairs. Leslie retired to Stirling, and the country

* Deuteronomy, ch. xxxiii. v. 18.

† Hodgson, p. 149.

‡ Cromwell's Dispatch, and other Letters in the vol. already referred to. Hodgson, in same col. p. 144, *et seq.* Carte's Let. vol. i. p. 380-1. Clar. vol. vi. p. 376. Ludlow, vol. i. p. 327-9. Walker, p. 179, *et seq.* Burnet's Hist. vol. i.

opened to Cromwell. Leith, which was strongly fortified, was abandoned to him, and Edinburgh-castle alone, in that district, stood out*.

The king was at this time in Perth, and was so far from being afflicted with the news, that, in the language of Clarendon, "he was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day †." He now flattered himself that this terrible blow to the leading party would enable the less rigid covenanters, in conjunction with the *Engagers*, to obtain the ascendancy; and that, in their anxiety to repel the invaders, and keep their ground, they might allow the royalists admission into their ranks, when he doubted not that the latter, along with the *Engagers*, might take the power even from the moderate covenanters, and ultimately model an army with which he could recover his crowns on his own terms. On this account, every species of ridicule was levelled against the rigid party, as the authors of the late defeat; and it was even desired to supersede David Leslie as general. He, dispirited by his late ill success, was willing to renounce the command, but he was still retained ‡.

State of
Scottish parties,
&c. after the battle.

* Dispatches in col. referred to. Walker, p. 186, *et seq.*

† Cler. vol. vi. p. 377.

‡ Walker, p. 181, *et seq.* Baillie's Let. vol. ii. p. 347, *et seq.* Baillie had been very active in bringing the king in, and he disapproved of his rigorous treatment. Thurloc's State Papers, vol. i. p. 167.

In spite of discomfiture, the rigid covenanters still maintained their principles: the more moderate joined with the lords of the engagement, who were now permitted to return to the king. This gave an ascendancy to these united parties, and the committees of church and state were moved by them to accept of the service of such as had either deserted the church, or had maintained what was called a detestable neutrality, provided they testified repentance. A parliament, too, having been held at Perth, passed two resolutions to that effect. But no sooner were they passed, than malignants flocked to testify repentance, in order to obtain commands; and this caused a new defection. Many of the rigid presbyterians not only approved of the beheading of the late king as an act of justice, but had yielded to the reception of the present rather as a matter of necessity than of choice, since they perceived that, if they failed to take that step, another party, supported by the majority of the covenanters, would, and thus wrest the power out of their hands. Now, however, though Argyle supported the king, (indeed his interest had hitherto overruled the rigid party,) they believed that measures of a very opposite nature were to be resorted to; and that their assistance was only sought till the monarch and the malignants, with the lords of the engagement, were in a situation to act against, and overturn, them. They (particularly in the counties of Air, Renfrew, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries) accordingly, protested against the commission of the church, and

declared that, to admit the disaffected, was to betray the cause, and put the whole power into the hands of malignants, whose pretended penitence was a mockery to God: they urged many gross faults against Argyle, London, Balcarras, and others, for the purpose of having the active noblemen most inclined to their principles removed; they declaimed against the idea of giving a king to England, especially one who was unworthy of reigning over Scotland; for that, as England was not subordinate to them, they had no right to interfere in her affairs. One of the ministers declared that the commission of the kirk would approve of nothing which was right; that a hypocrite ought not to reign over them; that they should treat with Cromwell, and give him security not to trouble England with a king; and that the blood shed in the quarrel must be on their heads who marred such a treaty. Some also were disposed to set a strict guard on the king. All this has been ascribed to bigotry and fanaticism, as if they could not defer their religious differences while their country was invaded; but, in truth, such writers overlook the nature of the war. In the case of an ordinary invasion from a foreign state, as people fear their general liberty, their property, and the safety of their families, all minor interests merge in one grand one, which involves the very existence of every thing that they value; but here the rigid covenanters would have gained far more valuable privileges by an alliance with England,

than by allowing the ascendancy of their intestine enemies *.

The Start.

Charles, in the meantime, was engaged in a conspiracy against even the moderate covenanters. It was concerted that he should escape from the present party, when a thousand Highlanders should be ready to rush down from Athole, and surprise the estates at Perth; that Dundee should be secured by its constable, Lord Dudhope; and that the Marquis of Huntly, with General Middleton in the north, and Lord Ogilvy in Angus, should simultaneously rise. In conformity with this plan, Charles escaped from his party; but miserably was he disappointed at being met only by a few Highlanders, who conducted him to a wretched house. Buckingham and Monroe dissuaded him from prosecuting his purpose farther, and, on the arrival of Montgomery from the committee of estates, he was prevailed on to return. Middleton had risen, but was soon put down by Leslie. Alarmed by this proceeding of the king, the full nature of which was not known, and which was called the *start*, the moderate covenanters, who still desired monarchical government, formed the resolution of conciliating him by gentle measures; and they, therefore, consented to pardon the insurgents, and to perform the ceremony of crowning Charles †.

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 347, *et seq.* Nichol's Diary, MS. Balfour's Shorte Memories, MS. Burnet's Hist. vol. i.

Walker, p. 197. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 356. Nichol's Diary, MS. Balfour's Shorte Memories, MS. Clarendon, vol. vi. p. 394. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 65.

It was apprehended that Cromwell might attempt to annoy them during the coronation; but the ceremony passed over without disturbance from him. Argyle placed the crown on the young king's head, an act which he afterwards argued in vain ought to have saved his own. Charles readily took the oaths, consisting of the covenants, and he was warned that the breach of the covenant by his grandfather had been the root of all the family misfortunes, while many plagues were denounced against him if he failed in his present obligations. But sincerity was not a virtue either of this prince or of his advisers: "it was thought very expedient," says Clarendon, "to raise an imagination in Argyle that the king had a purpose to marry one of his daughters;" and so far was the matter carried, that a message was dispatched by the royal hypocrite for his mother's consent; yet Argyle was afterwards brought to the block for conduct previous to this negotiation*.

Argyle was now exceedingly active in his attempts to unite the various parties into which the country was so miserably split; yet in vain did he argue to the rigid covenanters, who, from their late remonstrance, were called protesters or remonstrants, that there was now no room for a malignant party, since Charles, to whom they must look as

* Id. p. 395. All this hypocrisy is approved of by Clarendon; but, to do Carte justice, he expresses some just sentiments on the occasion. *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii. p. 130. *Nichol's Diary*, MS. *Baillie*, vol. ii. p. 360-4. *Burnet's Hist.* vol. i. See an astonishing proof of Charles's hypocrisy in *Thurloe's State Papers*, after the battle of Dunbar, vol. i. p. 163.

General
Strachan
joins Crom-
well.

their head, had himself become a covenanter. The great loss, however, was of General Strachan, whose army, like himself, had become infected with the sectarian principles. He refused to lay down his command when ordered, and, having disbanded such of his troops as he could not trust, joined Cromwell, his former commander, with the remainder *. The country was, indeed, in the most deplorable condition: famine, the result of the precautions to arrest the progress of Cromwell, was felt in all its horrors, by the inhabitants to the south of the Forth; the population in the north was split into factions; in the west, the remonstrants were inclined rather to join with Cromwell than oppose him, and loudly demanded a treaty.

Cromwell's
dispute with
the Scottish
clergy.

The English general on his part, left no measures unessayed to gain the affections of the people: by the strictness of his discipline no one found molestation from his soldiery; nay, he even supplied many with provisions out of his own stores; and at Glasgow he went to one of the churches, and, with perfect complacency, heard Mr. Zachary Boyd rail at him to his face: yet he would not allow the clergy to triumph in argument while himself did in arms: he maintained that the divines in Scotland falsely charged the English parliament with persecuting ministers of the gospel, for that, on the contrary, they were supported in full liberty to discharge their function, though they were not allowed, under a pretended privilege of character,

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 364.

to overtop the civil powers, or debase them as they pleased: That no man, either in England or Ireland had been ever molested, nor yet in Scotland, since the army had come thither, for preaching the gospel: That to speak truth became the ministers of Christ; but that when, "under the pretence of a glorious reformation, they seek only power for themselves, they must know that the Sion promised is not to be built with such untempered mortar." That ministers were only helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people; and yet that denying any of their doctrines, or dissenting from them, incurred the censure of a sectary, which was just assuming the infallible chair: That they would not find in Scripture that preaching fell exclusively within their function: Christians were instructed earnestly to covet the best gifts, "but chiefly that we may prophecy, which the apostle explains to be a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort:" "and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious though Eldad and Medad prophecy." That their pretended fear lest error should step in, whence they deny a man the liberty he has by nature, is like him who would keep all the wine out of the country, that people should not be drunk. "The doctrine and practice," says he, "should be tried by the word of God; and other people must have a liberty of examining them upon these heads, and of giving sentence." As to their charge against the sectaries for allowing the use of the pulpit to the laity, he says, "Are ye troubled that Christ is preached? Does it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is

it against the covenant? Away with the covenant if this be so. I thought the covenant and these could have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving; nor the kirk you mention in so much the spouse of Christ." In his first letter, (the correspondence was all nominally with the governor of Edinburgh-castle,) Cromwell writes,—“We have said in our papers, with what hearts and upon what account we came, and the Lord has heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel.” To this it was answered,—“We have not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of a cause upon events.” But the English general replies,—“We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to those marvellous dispensations which God has lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his, and not slightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and ours renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God to see how he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you!” It is easy to turn all this, and every thing of that nature, into ridicule; but possibly reflecting minds, that seriously believe in an overruling providence, may form a different opinion, while it cannot be denied that

Cromwell's idea of toleration was, considering the age, enlightened and noble *.

To return to military affairs: Edinburgh-castle, ^{Military} and all the other garrisons to the south of the Forth, ^{affairs.} except Stirling-castle, yielded to the English, and Cromwell gained a victory at Hamilton over part of the western troops, which had been induced to depart from their neutrality: But, in spite of this continued want of success and the defection of Strachan, a vigorous plan of defence was determined on by the Scots for the ensuing spring. An army was embodied, and though many were pressed, yet, from the number of volunteers, it soon became as considerable as that defeated at Dunbar. Charles, at the request of the estates, commanded in person: Hamilton was appointed Lieut.-General, and Leslie Major-General. During the winter Cromwell was seized with an ague, which for some time retarded his operations; but no sooner did his health permit than he was in the field †.

Their late disasters had fully taught the Scots the necessity of standing entirely on the defensive; and they encamped at Torwood, where they were safely entrenched by the Carron and ditches, while they were well supplied with provisions from the north. Cromwell saw the impossibility of reaching them on that ground, and therefore he tried to seduce them from it; but, after having waited

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 158, *et seq.* Baillie's Let. vol. ii. p. 347.

† Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1360, *et seq.* Nichol's Diary, MS. Whitelocke, p. 463. Baillie's Let. Col. of Dispatches.

six weeks to no purpose, in expectation of their moving, he resolved to cut off their supplies. For this purpose he, with his accustomed vigour, passes over into Fife, and reduces all the towns on the coast, and then goes to Perth, which he forces to capitulate—when, by judicious garrisons, he at once cut off the supplies from the Scottish army, from which the troops, in distress, daily deserted.

The young king and the Scottish army resolve to march into England.

In this extremity, the idea of marching into England was suggested; and as Scotland was regarded by the young king and his most confidential attendants as only an opening to England, where they expected a rising in their favour, and where they could shake off the yoke of the covenant—they immediately urged it, and the plan was adopted. It was hoped by Charles and his immediate advisers, that Middleton, who had a large party, would be able to gain the ascendancy in the army the moment it left Scotland. Though the army was miserably rent into factions, Argyle alone opposed the measure. He argued, that it was ungenerous, by carrying away the army, to abandon the Scots, who had first afforded the king an asylum, and supported him as their monarch: That the English army might still be prevented from bringing matters to the issue of a battle; and that another winter's campaign in Scotland would probably prove fatal to it: But that, as there was no rising in England, and little could be calculated on, the Scottish army would, unsupported, be inevitably soon forced to an engagement, under all the disadvantages of

fighting in a foreign country, when they must have provoked the inhabitants by living at free quarters. This prudent view was disregarded; and the army left its native country, where, by its irregularities and cruelties, it had rendered itself more hated than the English, in spite of the arts of a busy priesthood, who represented the latter as monsters who would give no quarter, especially if they found bibles amongst the people *.

Cromwell had suspected that the Scottish army might pursue this plan, and he preferred following it into England, to hazarding another winter's campaign in the north †. The council of state had likewise been apprized of the probability of such a measure by the enemy, and its vigilance was awake both to the danger and the means of overcoming it. The dispositions of the general were admirable. He sent to Major-Generals Harrison and Rich to draw together as many troops and militia as possible to obstruct the march of the Scots. He dispatched Lambert to hover upon their rear; and, having empowered the famous Moneke to remain

Scottish
army enters
England;
measures
pursued by
the English,
&c.

* Baillie, vol. ii. p. 470, *et seq.* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1369.

Balfour's Shorte Memories, MS. Nichol's Diary, MS.

† Whitelocke, p. 486. Therefore Mrs. Hutchinson must surely have either been misinformed of the feelings of Bradshaw and others when the Scots entered England, (her husband, though a member of council, appears to have been absent on employment,) or the council had not reposed great confidence in Cromwell. Ludlow, corroborates Hutchinson's account, vol. i. p. 361, 362; but he was himself then in Ireland. Her picture is an animated one. Vol. ii. p. 187, 188.

in Scotland for the purpose of completing the conquest of that country, he prepared to follow the enemy with his main body*.

The presbyterians, in their march south, perceived plainly that, if the royalists were permitted to join them, victory, however advantageous an accession of numbers might be for the army, would be no less calamitous to their party than a defeat from Cromwell. On the other hand, they had always flattered themselves, that the presbyterian party in England was the most numerous, and only kept down by the sectarian army; and therefore that, provided the malignants were not allowed to interfere, they would embrace the present opportunity of joining their Scottish brethren, and settling the government on the monarchical principle of the covenant, when they should obtain all the power of church and state to themselves. Though they were deceived in the affections of the people, the view was certainly sagacious. On these principles, they published a declaration, prohibiting all to join them who refused to take the covenant; but Charles ordered Major-General Massey, (formerly a presbyterian, but now a royalist in the army,) to suppress it. Unfortunately, however, for this policy, the letter to Massey with this order was intercepted; and, having been immediately published, everywhere alienated the affections of the pres-

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 397. Burnet's Mem. p. 426. Old Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 509. Cob. vol. iii. p. 1369.

byterians, and led to daily desertions from the army*.

Unlike the time when the Scottish army first entered England, and the people were summoned in vain by the late king to repel foreign invasion, all ranks, whether independents or presbyterians, seemed emulous of testifying their attachment to the commonwealth, and their indignation against the attempt to impose a prince upon them by a foreign army. The militia was embodied in all quarters, and even some of the excluded members testified their zeal by heading regiments. The gallant Fairfax himself, who had declined the command of the army destined against Scotland, true to his former principle—that if the Scots invaded England, he would readily fight against them—now, as a private gentleman, headed a regiment of militia in the common cause. The ability, vigour, and vigilance of parliament, never displayed themselves more conspicuously. The danger from every quarter was foreseen, and amply provided against; and the rapidity of their intelligence could scarcely be surpassed with all the improvements of modern times†.

Lambert was soon joined by Harrison, while Fleetwood watched the motions of the enemy in a different direction, to intercept them if they

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 4. 8. 18. Cob. vol. iii. p. 1369. 1371. Silvester's Life of Baxter, p. 68.

† Ludlow, vol. i. p. 361, *et seq.* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 187-89. The messenger who was sent by Cromwell to the English parliament with the letter, announcing the victory at Dunbar, had been himself in the engagement, (the third,) and yet arrived at Westminster early on the seventh. Whitelocke, p. 470.

took that route; while the militia concentrated from all quarters. Hence it was believed, on probable grounds, that though Cromwell had remained in Scotland, the enemy could easily have been subdued. Harrison therefore declared with justice, that he was assured of a glorious issue of the work.—Lambert pressed hard on the rear of the Scottish army; and at Warrington, the Scots, availing themselves of their situation, attacked his van, the royalists shouting out, “Oh you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes;” but he brought off his troops without almost any loss. And now the question with the invading army was, which course should they pursue? The foot, exhausted with tedious marches, cried to halt, as they were unable to proceed, and many deserted. Some officers advised to march for the capital; but the majority recommended Worcester—where the young king expected a party to join him—where the harassed troops might refresh themselves—and where his friends from Wales might flock to his standard. The other project, that of marching for the capital, was evidently rash and injudicious to the last degree. In front, numerous forces would have met him, while Lambert, Harrison, and Fleetwood, would not have left a moment’s breathing time in rear, and Cromwell was daily expected. Worcester was, therefore, wisely preferred; but the army, which was now, by desertion, disease, and loss in skirmishes, reduced to about 16,000, arrived there in a miserable plight, when a new disaster added to their calamities. The Earl of Derby had hitherto held out

the Isle of Man for the king, and now made a descent on the coast for the purpose of creating a diversion. With all his influence, however, he could not muster above 1500 men, and these Colonel Lilburn utterly defeated, and almost annihilated, while Derby himself sought refuge in the royal camp, with only thirty followers, leaving Lilburn to join in the combined operations against the Scottish army.

Experience on some men is lost. The desertion from the Scottish army had chiefly been of the rigid covenanters; and the royal advisers expressed their satisfaction at seeing it purged of that body, by which it was more approximated in political spirit to the model they desired. The approach of danger could not cure these royalists of their extravagance and selfishness: When the whole army was in the utmost hazard, they were divided into factions for preferment, and undermining one another with all the little insidious arts of the court. Nay, the Duke of Buckingham, who never had evinced genius for war, endeavoured at this critical juncture to supplant Leslie, representing him as a person unworthy of trust, while he modestly proposed himself for the command: And, because Charles would not indulge him in his request, he retired in sullen discontent from the councils. The young king, however, formed a just estimate of the danger; and, in his conviction of a fatal result, pusillanimously formed the resolution of attempting to retreat to Scotland at the head of the cavalry: But when the purpose became known, a

mutiny was threatened, the soldiers insisting they should all run one common hazard, and the unworthy motion was abandoned.

Battle of
Worcester,
3d Sept.
1651.

While the Scottish army remained at Worcester without augmentation from the English, Cromwell, having joined Harrison and Lambert, and concentrated the militia, his force in all amounting to about 30,000, advanced to that town. Having thrown a temporary bridge across the Severn, he transported to the opposite bank part of the army, that he might begin the attack in all quarters at once, and prevent escape. Some skirmishing occurred on the second (of September) but it was on the third, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, that the battle was fought. The Scots having judiciously carried almost the whole of their army to one side of the river, while the English force was divided, fought bravely, and stood their ground for some time; but they were at last borne down and driven into the town. It was only then that the king understood that the battle had begun. Harassed, it is said, and exhausted by want of rest, particularly on the preceding night, and assured that there would be no battle that day, (probably from the pusillanimous purpose which he formed of retreating to Scotland with the cavalry, it was deemed advisable to keep him at a distance,) he had retired to repose, when the fearful sound of flying troops, and the noise of the victors, broke his slumbers. Joining the cavalry, which had yet done *nothing*, he endeavoured to prevail with them to *make a stand*; but he addressed them in *vain*; nor in-

deed could their efforts have been availing: The event was already decided, and he saw the necessity of seeking his own safety in immediate flight. Two thousand were slain, six or seven thousand immediately taken, and many more, particularly of the cavalry, afterwards swelled the list of captives to ten thousand; while the country people every where knocked the fugitives on the head. Well might this victory be called by Cromwell a crowning mercy. The wretched prisoners were transported to the colonies, and sold to slavery. But though many of these had been unwillingly dragged from their homes, their misery has, on account of their obscure rank in life, never drawn one tear from eyes which have so profusely wept over illustrious distress, however merited.

The young king, with about fifty or sixty of his followers, fled from Worcester about six in the evening; and they travelled together for twenty-six miles, when it was judged prudent to separate. By Captain Careless, Charles was conducted to the house of a poor cottager who subsisted by his daily labour, but was known to Careless as a strict catholic, and consequently attached to those who were opposed to the rigid enemies of his religion. In this man's character the captain was not deceived; but he prudently abstained from informing him of the rank of his illustrious companion, and the cottager esteemed them both as two unfortunate cavaliers only. In the mean time, as a thousand guineas were offered as a reward for apprehending Charles,—the country people, as well as the sol-

Escape of
the young
king.

diers, were eager to discover him; and the search was so hot that, on one occasion, during his residence with the cottager, the young king and his companion were obliged to take shelter in the branches of a large tree, afterwards known by the name of the royal oak, and preserved as a curiosity, whence they saw the soldiers beneath, and overheard their conversation. Having left his faithful host, Charles in disguise travelled from place to place, always selecting the houses of royalists, whose fidelity at this juncture never faltered towards him. In chusing places of refuge he had little difficulty, as the protracted civil broils had fully brought men's principles to a public test, and the name of any person of rank at once brought to people's recollection the side he had espoused. Charles, after many difficulties and dangers, at last got on board a vessel, which waited for him at Brighton, and escaped to the Continent*.

Ambition
of Crom-
well, &c.

The militia and volunteers highly distinguished themselves at Worcester; but though Cromwell in his dispatch did justice to their merits, it is alleged that he took particular care to dismiss them immediately, as a species of military which, having once fairly tried and felt its own powers, might obstruct his secret designs of personal aggrandizement†. He now aspired to the crown; yet though even the courts of Europe rang with his

* Whitelocke, p. 501, *et seq.* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1370, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi. p. 413, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 365.

† Ludlow, vol. i. p. 365-6.

praises, not only as the greatest man of the age, but as almost unrivalled in history *, he conducted himself with the utmost apparent modesty and indifference to fame, as if, in all his measures, he had merely been actuated by a conscientious desire to discharge his duty to God and his country. All his artifices, however, did not conceal his ambitious project from Hugh Peters and others, who narrowly watched his motions, and dived into his character†. When he returned to the metropolis, he was received equally by the parliament and city with every mark of respect. He was met in the fields by the speaker of parliament, and president of the council, attended with many members; and by the lord mayor and aldermen, and many thousands of quality. In his progress to his house, "he was entertained all the way with volleys of great and small shot, and loud acclamations and shouts of the people." But his good sense did not desert him on this trying occasion. "He carried himself with great affability and seeming humility; and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention any thing of himself, but of the gallantry of his officers and soldiers, and gave (as was due) all the glory of the action unto God‡."

The Earl of Derby and Captain Benboe, were

* See Christina of Sweden's opinion expressed to Whitelocke, *Journal of the Embassy*, vol. i. p. 328, *et seq.* See also the Swedish Chancellor's opinion, p. 314.

† Lud. vol. ii. p. 447.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 599.

condemned by a court-martial and shot; others, having been tried by a high court of justice, were condemned and executed for high treason*.

Conquest of
Scotland,
&c.

We may now return to Scotland, where Moncke vigorously prosecuted the war. He took Stirling castle, justly deemed one of the most impregnable forts of the kingdom, and where he found the regalia, which he transmitted to London. From Stirling he proceeded to Dundee, which he took by storm, and not content with putting 500 or 600 of the garrison to the sword, he, in cold blood, murdered even the governor, after quarter given†.

Scotland was now entirely subdued by the English arms: Argyle himself submitted, and sued for peace. The English parliament, conceiving that the safety of the commonwealth depended on a union with Scotland, determined to incorporate that country with itself; yet proffered it, though conquered, all the advantages of the sister state. Commissioners were sent down to transact this important business, and it was concluded that representatives, elected on equitable principles, should be sent to the English parliament. The arrangement was most decried by the clergy, who declaimed against it as inconsistent with the covenant and the divinity of their establishment, by bringing the kirk under subordination to the civil power, and introducing an ungodly tolera-

* Clar. vol. vii. p. 411. Whitelocke, p. 511, *et seq.* Nichol's Diary, MS.

† Ludlow, vol. i. p. 366. Nichol's Diary, MS. Balfour's Shorter Memories, MS. Whitelocke, p. 507, *et seq.* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1370. Clar. vol. vi. p. 447.

tion; but the people, who were now permitted the most unlimited right to exercise their religion, felt no displeasure at the restraint on their priesthood, a body that had lately rendered themselves terrible and odious by the attempt to engross all civil as well as ecclesiastical power, and under the pretext of regulating the consciences of men, and attending to their spiritual welfare, really ruled them with a rod of iron. A considerable military force was maintained in Scotland, to preserve the new constitution, which was opposed by a large party.

An order had formerly been voted by parliament to allow Cromwell about L.2500 per annum out of the Earl of Worcester's estate; and an additional grant of the same extent was now made, which raised his income to nearly five thousand—liberality fully adequate to his merits, and which ought to have bound him for ever to the public cause. His conduct forms a striking contrast with that of his son-in-law, Ireton. A grant was at the same time made to him, and the news reached him a little before his dissolution; but instead of expressing satisfaction, he cynically remarked, that he wished the parliament would mind the public business, and discharge the public debt, instead of thus voting away the public money, and that he would not have it as he had enough of his own: it was believed by those who knew him best, that his premature death prevented him from openly refusing it. Sir Harry Vane, too, shewed his integrity. As paymaster of the navy he was entitled to a certain percentage on the money which passed through his hands; but,

far from deriving the advantage, he paid the whole into the treasury*.

Reduction
of the Isles
of Man,
Guernsey,
and Jersey.

The Isle of Man had been held out by the Earl of Derby, and the countess, in his absence, refused to surrender it, saying that she was bound to act by the orders of her lord; but she at last yielded it up. Prince Rupert, with the revolted ships, had acted the part of a pirate upon the merchant vessels; and, as the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly, afforded a fit asylum for his fleet, it was deemed, both on this account, as well as to restore the isles to the commonwealth, necessary to reduce them, which, with some difficulty was accomplished†.

Fleet.

The Earl of Warwick might easily have recovered all the revolted ships, or destroyed them at an early period; but from an affected punctilio, he would not follow them into the Texel. This conduct little suiting the decided measures of the commonwealth, the command was taken from him and bestowed on Blake, Dean, Popham, and Ayscue. The committee for naval affairs, of whom Sir Harry Vane was the chief, were men of uncommon talents and enterprise: after the revolt of part of the fleet, other ships were rapidly built, and the whole navy put under the best possible management. Before this time the commanders had conceived that they performed their duty if they brought their ships safe home again; but this no longer accorded with the genius of England: They were sent out with orders to destroy the ships and fleets

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 371. See farther about Ireton, p. 381, *et seq.*

† Whitelocke, p. 511, *et seq.*

of their enemies; and the slightest appearance of slowness to engage was severely reprimanded. All the commanders—besides those mentioned, there were Bourne, Penn, Badeley, Lawson, Moncke, Venables,—were highly distinguished, each apparently emulous of the greatest glory; but Blake was the most eminent*. From the fame of his exploits, he has, in history, as rising a little above the others, eclipsed them; but those who narrowly study the age will find that some of the others were not far outstript; and that it was not Blake who created the naval glory of England, but the times and the inherent vigour of the commonwealth which afforded a theatre for the display of his talents. Had he never existed, another would not have been wanting to perform the same memorable actions. This is no detraction from his merits; but the mere confirmation of a great truth—that there is never a want of talent in the community, if the field be open to generous ambition.

In this place we shall give a short account of that great naval hero. Of a good family, and born to competent circumstances†, he had, after having received a liberal education, (he took the degree of master of arts at Oxford,) lived in retire-

Character
of Blake.

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 602, justly shews the superiority of the English navy now to that of former times, and the difference of spirit; but he attributes it too much to Blake. See an account of Blake's republican principles, State Papers, vol. iii. p. 27.

† Though he was satisfied with his fortune, which made it competent, one would imagine it could not have been very great, as he had stood candidate for a fellowship at Oxford, and is reported to have lost it in consequence of the lowness of his stature. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. p. 825. Biog. Brit.

ment till his country summoned him to her defence; and his conduct at the sieges of Wells and Taunton, had deservedly gained him a high character. After the mutiny against Rainsborough, it was intended to confer the command of the navy upon Cromwell, who doubtless would soon have distinguished himself in that department of war, as he did in the other; but the second civil war requiring his presence in the field, led to a new arrangement, and Blake was appointed, along with Dean and the others, to that station. He was at that time between fifty and sixty: Yet such were the native powers of his mind, so much of the elasticity of youth did he retain, that the new element became, almost immediately, as familiar to him as if he had been trained to it from his childhood, and he made himself, as if by intuition, not only perfectly master of every thing known in the profession, but, with inventive genius, struck out a new path, and carried the thunder of the English navy through every quarter of the globe. Land batteries, which had been timorously shunned by former commanders, Blake silenced; and, entering into the enemy's ports, destroyed their shipping where they thought it unapproachable: after one of his daring exploits the Spaniards believed the English devils and not men. His temper was as open and generous as his spirit was valiant*.

Pursues
Rupert.

He had been sent out against Rupert, and he pursued him into Kinsale; but the other, taking

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 601. Lud. vol. i. p. 290, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 381, *et seq.* Wood's Athen. Ox. vol. i. p. 825. Biog. Brit.

advantage of a favourable opportunity, escaped thence and proceeded to Portugal. Blake quickly followed him thither, and chased him into the Tagus; when the king of Portugal, though himself deemed an usurper by the Spaniards, from whom he had revolted, conceiving himself so far interested in the fate of kings as to resent the death of Charles Stuart, denied liberty to Blake to follow Rupert. The English resident complained to no purpose; but the parliament, apprized of this posture of affairs, sent out Colonel Popham with a reinforcement, and instructions to apply to the Portuguese government for liberty to attack the pirate Rupert in the Tagus, and, in the event of the application being refused, to avenge the injury done to the English government by immediate hostilities on their shipping. This decisive measure appalled the Portuguese government; and twenty of their large merchant vessels, richly laden, having been seized, they made all due submission to the English commonwealth, and sued for peace. The French government had afforded an asylum to the exiled family, and shelter to the revolted ships; but its commerce was nearly annihilated, and it also sued for an alliance. All the boasted effects of ship-money had formerly not prevented the very British coasts from being infested with pirates; but, Rupert's squadron excepted, the seas were now cleared, while every court in Europe trembled at the English name*.

* Clar. vol. v. p. 360. Whitelocke, p. 449, *et seq.* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1361. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 145, *et seq.* Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 18, *et seq.*

Rupert having escaped from the Tagus, lost some of his ships on the Spanish coast, and sailed for the West Indies. The royal interest had been so far preserved in Barbadoes; but Sir George Ayscue rapidly subdued it. Prince Maurice had gone thither with some of the revolted ships; but his small fleet was wrecked in a hurricane; and Rupert subsisted by piracy, indifferently on English and Spanish vessels, till, during the subsequent war with the Dutch, he, intending to join them, returned to Europe: at the conclusion of the war he disposed of his shattered ships for a sum of money. The West India islands all submitted to the parliament*.

While the parliament subdued its enemies, it was not inattentive to secure proper commercial treaties, and the internal blessings of ^{the} cheap and speedy dispensation of law and justice. In England, as if the object had been to conceal from men the very laws by which they were to regulate their conduct, the law books and legal proceedings were in Norman French. King James had been anxious to remove this absurdity, but all his influence had been ineffectual. The great Bacon, too, had suggested the propriety of a digest of the laws; but such were the obstacles opposed to the change, and, particularly, such was the jealousy entertained of James, as desirous to substitute the civil, for the English, law, that these objects had never been se-

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 466. Whitelocke, p. 474, *et seq.* Cob. Par. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1357. Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 109, *et seq.*

and what has thus been accumulated requires to be only comprised in a proper form. Such was the object of the parliament at this period, and England has to regret that it was not accomplished. She has to lament, particularly, the failure of another project, the full establishment of records for titles of land and deeds affecting it—a project that we cannot sufficiently wonder has not since been executed, considering the long and complete experience which Scotland has had of its beneficial tendency. It was also fully resolved upon to make lands liable for the proprietor's simple debts; and to dispense with the tedious forms of fine and recovery in conveyances. Excellent regulations, too, in regard to juries, were devised, and would doubtless have passed into a law*.

Such were the grand views of this legislative assembly; but the historian to whom we have so often alluded, as if incapable of seeing one beneficial measure in a parliament which had successfully opposed the unconstitutional proceedings of a monarch, or as if his eye saw the happiness of a *modern* state only through the splendour of a court, has represented it as swayed merely by a gloomy and ridiculous fanaticism, while he has selected as a proof of its legislative capacity the chief circumstance which appears to confirm the charge. This was the famous adultery act, passed in the year 1650, which ordained the punishment of death for incest and adultery, and three months' imprisonment for simple fornication on the first convic-

* Whitelocke, p. 456, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 410. "Several Draughts of Acts heretofore prepared," &c. published 1653.

tion, while it was to be felony without benefit of clergy on the second. In popish times, the spiritual courts only took cognizance of these offences; and the framers of the canon law are accused, even by Blackstone, of treating these crimes with an improper levity, in consequence of their own aptitude, from their constrained celibacy, to commit them; and it must be confessed to be a strange desideratum, considering the directness of the Levitical law. The two first are by statute in Scotland still punishable capitally; but it is conceived that, in regard to adultery, the law is in desuetude. There was, anterior to the act just referred to, no law in England against these offences; and, unfortunately, the statute was repealed at the Restoration without a substitute. The first crime is happily so abhorrent to the feelings of every mind, that the necessity of a law has been superseded by the common voice of mankind; and, perhaps, if a case were to occur, it would be better for society that the guilty should receive their punishment in the execration of all their neighbours, than that the public ear should be polluted by the account of a trial for a crime which human nature had never been believed to be so corrupt as to commit. But adultery, when the marriage-bed is defiled by the wife, is of another kind; and it is to be lamented that the principle of the Levitical law, of the law which prevailed in many of the ancient republics, and different empires, should not have been continued in Britain. Of the various crimes against civilized society, this seems one of the greatest. It poisons domestic felicity, it alienates

parents from their children, and introduces all the train of evils attending want of parental affection, and of proper culture in youth. The man whose wife is seduced from him sustains an infinitely greater injury than he could have done from any loss of property; since the children for whom he was daily toiling, anxiously accumulating, and exposing himself to privations, are now covered with their mother's shame, and must enter the world under reproach, while the tender father can no longer regard them with confidence as his own offspring. The punishment prescribed to fornication, however, was too severe; and it was strenuously opposed by a great part of the house. But the statute would most probably have been soon corrected by a new one*.

Not contented with reviling the parliament as composed of fanatics, whose views were too absurdly confined for legislation, the same historian has represented the country as plunged into the wildest and most destructive anarchy. But, though men did speculate about the future constitution,

* Whitelocke, p. 455. Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1346. Mr. Hume is admitted by his enemies to have been remarkably correct in his private conduct; it is therefore the more to be lamented that his extreme partiality for the French, or rather the courtly part of them, should have led him into the erroneous speculative notion, that adultery being considered in the light of an affair of gallantry, was not greatly to be deprecated. It is singular that in another, and almost the only other proof of contractedness in this assembly—the prohibition of stage plays,—the presbyterians, headed by men of the highest rank, as the Earl of Manchester, &c. were the most forward. Manchester, Kent, and Mulgrave entered a protest in the year 1647, because the ordinance, instead of being perpetual, was only for a year. Old Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 112.

while it was not yet fully determined on, all submitted to the present government. Every one was protected in his legal rights and property; and never had England beheld the time when law was dispensed with such even-handed justice. All monopolies and vexatious exclusive privileges being withdrawn, and people animated with the proud spirit of independence, manufactures and commerce—in short, every species of industry—advanced with the most wonderful rapidity. During the late reign, the direct taxes were indeed much smaller; but talent and enterprize, as well as ordinary industry, were then shackled, and the fruits of exertion insecure; now, however, such a spring had, by the removal of these paralyzing causes, been communicated, that the nation easily surmounted the assessments which had necessarily flowed from the protracted contest. Little, then, is that anarchy to be deplored, which is accompanied with such effects.

Origin of
the Dutch
war.

The states of Holland seemed to be the natural allies of England; but the prince of Orange, who desired to raise his own power, and was closely allied to the Stuart family, had a great influence over the councils of the country; for the republican party, in most of the states, had been aristocratical, and the prince gained the lower classes by judiciously favouring their interests. During the civil wars of Britain, the States had observed an ostensible neutrality, but there had ever been, through the prevalence of the Orange faction, a leaning towards the royal side. On the death of Prince William, the republican party gained the

ascendancy, but the other remained very powerful ; and the exiled Stuart family and their partizans exerted all their influence and arts to foment a war with England, which they even wished to be carried on in the name of Charles. It was through the power of this faction that the Stuarts were so protected, and the assassination of Dorislaus so shamefully passed over. To prevent the recurrence of this detestable crime, after its perpetration on Dorislaus and Ascham *, so many of the cavaliers who had not compounded, and were consequently still amenable to justice, were seized upon, with a threat of making them expiate the offence ; while St. John and Strickland were sent to Holland as ambassadors. Some idea was now entertained of an alliance between the countries approaching to a union ; but, as the Orange faction, supported by others who began to be inflamed with the jealousy of trade, overbore those who were inclined to cultivate a good understanding with the new commonwealth,—the ambassadors were treated by the States with indeed ceremonious politeness, but no friendly attention ; and, while the Stuart family were allowed to reside there as the rightful governors of Britain, they were insulted with impunity by the populace : St. John even narrowly escaped assassination, the attempt at which was little inquired into. Not only the

* See Clar. vol. vi. p. 370, *et seq.* for a proof of the way in which the assassination of Ascham was considered by the Spanish minister : He applauded the deed, and regretted the crime had not been resorted to against the Portuguese revoltors.

closer confederacy was, therefore, rejected, and the proposals relative to the exiled family received with coldness, and evaded, but an ordinary alliance on fair grounds despised. All this occurred while the young king was in Scotland, and St. John told them that he perceived they were influenced by the notion of that prince's success; but that ere long they would sue in vain for what they now contemned. An insult to an ambassador is always resented as offered not to the individual, but to the power that sends him, and as a proof of hostility; and St. John and Strickland returned to England in disgust*.

Navigation
act.

The English parliament, attentive equally to the prosperity and honour of their country, determined now to adopt a measure that should not only advance the commerce of the British dominions, but humble the arrogance of the Dutch. The West India sugar islands held out at first for Charles II. and traded with Holland. To stop this—to promote British commerce and punish the States, the famous navigation act, to which there had been an approach at a very early period, was now framed. According to it, all colonial produce was prohibited from being imported except in British built ships, of which, too, the master, and three-fourths of the mariners, should be natives. The transportation of the same produce from one place to ano-

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 177, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi. p. 437, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 487, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 454. 466-71. 471-4, 491-2. Carte's, vol. i. p. 427. 446. 464; vol. ii. p. 1, 2, 11-13, 18, 44-5. Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 252, *et seq.* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1362-3. Ludlow, vol. i. p. 344-6.

ther, was put under the same restrictions ; and even European produce and manufactures prevented from being imported but in British bottoms, except they were the growth or fabric of the particular state which carried them *. This struck severely at the Dutch, who were fast engrossing the commerce of Europe, by purchasing the various commodities of one state and disposing of them to another ; and it was conceived by them to be a sort of signal for hostilities. The English, on the other hand, who fully prized the statute, and were probably affected with reciprocal jealousy, while they resented the meanness with which the States had acted during their civil broils, and particularly during the late invasion from Scotland, were not averse to war. But other motives have been assigned for the readiness of the parliament to engage in hostilities :—That it desired a pretext for not dissolving, at the period which it had limited for itself, and expected to find one in an expensive war, which it might pretend it wished to see brought to a conclusion : That it was anxious to quiet the civil wounds of the state, by withdrawing the public attention to foreign affairs, by inspiring the sense of honour for their country, and dazzling with the splendour of victory : and lastly, that it was solicitous to give the superiority to the naval armament, that the popular affections might be so fixed on it, that it might employ some of the

* Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1374-5. Old do. vol. xx. p. 75-6. Blackstone, vol. i. p. 418. See English notions on Trade in Thurloe's State papers, vol. i. p. 198, *et seq.*

land officers, as well as common soldiers, in that service; and that, in the unavoidable expense of fitting out a fleet, it might have a good pretext for disbanding part of the military which it could not employ at sea, and thus have it in its power to new-model the army, and defeat the artifices of Cromwell, of whom it had become jealous. The first motive assigned is unworthy of the character of this assembly. The plausibility of the latter recommends them though only matter of conjecture.

The prediction of St. John to the Dutch was now verified. Acting upon the navigation law, the English captured upwards of eighty of their merchant vessels; and the States now apologized for their former conduct, and sued for an alliance on the principles formerly tendered; but the parliament refused to repeal so beneficial a statute; and since matters had come to a species of rupture, they resolved to be satisfied with nothing short of full indemnification: They demanded reparation, or at least complained of, the unatoned massacre of Amboyna in 1615, of the indirect support given to their late king during the civil wars, of the assassination of Dorislaus, which, though not perpetrated by the States, had been committed in their territories, and yet passed unpunished; and of the insults offered to St. John and Strickland, which had been connived at, while even the assassination of the first had been attempted without punishment. They also insisted on the exclusive right of Great Britain to the herring fishery. Disappointed in the attainment of their object by amicable means, the

Dutch determined to second their proposals with a fleet of 150 sail—a fleet which would be justly regarded as perfectly astonishing in a small commonwealth, which had so lately struggled for existence, and with difficulty asserted her independence against Spain, did we not know that, under a liberal government, there seems to be no limit to the powers of a people*.

Having equipped their fleet, the Dutch sent notice to the English parliament that they had no purpose of hostilities; but had merely adopted the measure for the protection of their commerce. The politeness of the intimation, however, did not, in the relative situation of the respective commonwealths, disguise the real object, and an event soon occurred to evince it. A fleet of fishing vessels refused to pay the accustomed homage to an English man of war, which some affected to justify on the principle that the homage was given to royalty and not to the people, and therefore no longer exigible; but this plea was disregarded by the English commander, who sank one of their vessels in vindication of his country's honour. In return for this, the Dutch laid an embargo on all English ships in their ports; and, in the beginning of the year 1652, Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of fifty-five sail before Portsmouth, whither he pretended to have been driven by stress of weather. The English marine was not immediately in a situation to resent the insult which was unexpectedly given to it, and which the Dutch declared

Dutch war,
and naval
success of
England.

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 207, *et seq.*

was not intended. The parliament immediately expended L.800,000 in fitting out the navy; and, on the 19th of May following, Blake taught the Dutch the respect due to England. Tromp appeared with forty-two sail in Dover roads, and Blake having met him with only twenty-six sail, demanded the honours due to his country: The Dutchman, relying on his superior strength, not only refused it contemptuously; but is said even to have returned a broad-side to the demand. The intrepid Englishman, without regard to the inferiority of his numbers, commenced a vigorous fire, and being joined during the engagement by Captain Bourn with other eight ships, he not only maintained the fight for five hours without loss, but took one of the enemy's vessels and sank another. Night put an end to the conflict, and Tromp took advantage of the darkness to sail for the coast of Holland. This event was no less alarming to the Dutch than it was unexpected. They perceived that the English commonwealth was equally powerful at sea as on land; and that, their domestic enemies quelled, their superiority could not be long withstood. A manifesto was published by Tromp, ascribing the battle to the overhastiness of Blake, who attacked him as he was preparing to pay the accustomed homage; but as the statement was contradicted by Blake, and all the captains in his fleet, so, from the superiority of the enemy's numbers, it was improbable in itself. The States also sent an ambassador, in order to avert the war, when the parliament proposed as preliminaries, that every Dutch vessel should pay homage to the British

ships of war, and should give reparation for the damage England had sustained. The States agreed to the first, but demurred to the last, though it is alleged that they were ready to purchase an indemnity from the search under the navigation act at the price of L. 300,000, Sterling. War was therefore declared, and the herring-busses destroyed by Blake. Tromp pursued him with a hundred sail, and Blake, being joined with reinforcements, did not intend to decline the combat; but a violent storm prevented a battle. Blake took shelter in the English harbours, and suffered no loss; but great was the damage sustained by the enemy. De Ruyter was famed as the greatest naval hero in Europe; yet the English republicans soon tarnished his laurels. As with sixty sail he conveyed thirty merchant ships, Sir George Ayscue, with little more than thirty sail, not only sustained the combat till night interposed, but sank ten of their vessels; while the Dutch, whose object seems to have been an escape, directed their shot principally against the English rigging, in which they were so successful as to prevent the pursuit next day. Shortly afterwards the same officer sustained a defeat from Blake, Bourne, and Penn; his rear-admiral having been boarded and taken, other ten sunk, and one blown up. In the Mediterranean Captain Badely was attacked by Van Galen and defeated; but he fought with such desperate courage, as to occasion great damage to the enemy, with the loss of their admiral. But the Dutch fleet were successful in a more important case.

De Ruyter and Tromp having united, mustered eighty ships of war, and with thirty of their largest merchantmen, properly equipped, they entered the Downs. Blake had sent away twenty of his ships to convey a fleet of Newcastle coal ships, other twelve towards Plymouth, and fifteen up the river, leaving only thirty-seven under his command; yet the council of war rashly ordered him not to decline the engagement; and so desperately did he fight, that the battle was long doubtful: as, however, the Dutch behaved with uncommon gallantry, superiority of numbers at last prevailed. While, therefore, the Dutch admiral's ship was sunk, two of the English ships were taken, and a third burned: Blake himself was wounded; and but for the approach of night greater loss would have been sustained.

This success, the result entirely of superior numbers, so raised the arrogance of the Dutch, that their admiral, Tromp, affixed a broom to his mast, to denote that he meant to sweep the seas clear of the English. But their pride was soon humbled: The immense sums voted by the parliament, having been levied with impartiality, and duly appropriated to the business of the state, in which the pride and prosperity of the nation were so deeply involved, were paid without a murmur; the sailors were encouraged by an increase of pay, and the whole put under the command of Blake, with the assistance of Dean, and likewise of Moncke, who had, for that purpose, been recalled from Scotland; Sir George Ayscue having, in spite of his

success, been laid aside, in consequence of the suspicion of too favourable a bias towards the cavaliers, which he was supposed to have manifested by the terms granted to the royalist party in Barbadoes*.

The Dutch had suffered prodigiously in the capture of their merchant vessels; and while they equipped them for war, they increased the strength of their convoys. Three hundred merchantmen, many of them carrying a number of guns, entered the English channel, escorted by seventy-six men of war; and now was deemed the critical moment to strike an important blow. Blake and his coadjutors met them with eighty sail, and the conflict was one of the most obstinate recorded in history. For three days did the battle rage with unabated fury; but, in spite of the superiority of numbers—many of the merchantmen, carrying a great number of guns, joined in the battle—victory declared in favour of the English. Thirty only of the merchantmen were taken; but eleven ships of war were either captured or sunk, two thousand of their men were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; while the English, though many of their ships were greatly shattered, lost only one, which was sunk.

This was a terrible blow to the States: Their maritime power, obliged to acknowledge the superiority of England, could no longer flatter them

* Clar. Hist. vol. vi. p. 459, *et seq.* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 86, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 525, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 405, *et seq.*

with the hope of compensating the immense losses they had sustained, by overcoming the English navy, and recovering their trade. Upwards of sixteen hundred of their merchant vessels had been captured by the English ; their fisheries were destroyed ; their commerce suspended. The people began to mutiny, and the Orange faction, taking advantage of the general discontent, tried to recover its ground, by proposing to advance the young prince to the station which had been held by his father. Under these circumstances the States sued for peace ; but the English parliament was high in its demands, and it was not concluded till after the usurpation. The followers of the exiled king, particularly Hyde and Nicholas, his most confidential ministers, had fomented the war with all imaginable arts. They even endeavoured to persuade the Dutch to proclaim it in the name of Charles II. and allow him to enter the fleet, representing that the English sailors were so disaffected, that if they knew their king was there in person, they would instantly strike. The Dutch, however, had formed too just an estimate of the British character to expect such an issue ; and, while they were too prudent to run the hazard of directly espousing his interest, the prevailing party were restrained by other considerations, since they well knew that, if the English king were restored by their means, he would endeavour to raise his kinsman to the same dominion in Holland. During the war, Hyde and his associates would give little credit to the accounts of Dutch losses ;

and with hearts not akin to those of Englishmen, they rejoiced at the victory that Tromp had formerly gained. In the mean time, the court of the exiled monarch continued to be convulsed with faction, every one being bent on the destruction of his neighbour, that he might obtain his place, and ready to pilfer the little treasure which had been destined to other purposes. The queen and her son, too, were at variance, because, instead of submitting to her government, he preferred the counsels of Hyde*.

The commonwealth had now reached the most envied greatness; all its enemies at home and abroad were subdued, and its fame extended throughout the world; its commerce and manufactures daily proceeded with an accelerated progression, and the openings for talent and industry being so great, the younger sons of high families, —who, though they had affected, with aristocratic pride, to despise the duties of life, had been, in a great measure, deterred from embarking in trade, from the small chance of success without capital, and had been constrained to enter the service of leading men as menials, where they were exposed even to personal chastisement, with all the train of degradation incident to servants, who feel that, under their circumstances, there can be no change of masters, since it would be fatal to their

* Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 86, *et seq.* Hist. vol. vi. p. 461, vol. v. p. 195, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 553, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 116, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 426, *et seq.*

prospects,—now sought the road to wealth and distinction in the honourable walks of independent industry. The plans for reforming the law and the legal proceedings were daily maturing, while the scheme of the future government was agreed upon. The country was divided into new portions, according to the population and the amount of the direct taxes exigible. The number of portions, and consequently of representatives, was four hundred. To entitle any to the elective franchise, it was necessary that he should have property in lands, houses, or goods, to the value of two hundred pounds. Having fully devised the plan, parliament prepared for the act of dissolution; but the fall of the republic was determined by the hands which had fought for it*.

Ambition
of Crom-
well, and
design to
usurp the
government.

Those who had intimately watched the conduct of Cromwell, had long suspected him of designs hostile to the commonwealth; and, after the battle of Worcester, these became so apparent, that Peters intimated to some of the steady republicans that Cromwell meant to make himself a king†. The general's consultations about the future go-

* How different was the state of France with its despotical government, and the supposed quiet attending it: "I will say nothing," says Clarendon, in a letter to Nicholas from Paris, 6th July, 1632, "of the distracted condition of this place. I am sure Sir Richard Browne will give you a full and particular account; all the rabble of London, when they went highest, were not worthy to be named with this people, who will burn, kill, and slay, all who oppose them." State Papers, vol. iii. p. 81. See elsewhere.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 446, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 238, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 244, *et seq.* Vol. xx. Journals.

vernment, prove that Peters had not been mistaken. A meeting, at which St. John, Whitelocke, and other great lawyers, with some of the principal officers, attended, having been held at his desire, he, with all apparent humility, started the question, whether it should be monarchical or republican; insinuating that, in his opinion, a government with something of the kingly temperament was best suited to the genius of the people. The idea was taken up by St. John and Whitelocke, who proposed to recal one of the late king's sons, under proper restrictions; but the officers of the army were all decidedly for a republic. The consultation had the effect of evincing the respective dispositions of the men, and thus of enabling him to regulate his future conduct. In the lawyers he was disappointed: the reformation of the legal proceedings which was contemplated, as it threatened to lower the importance of the profession, by rendering the law accessible to every one, and simplifying the forms, is alleged not to have been acceptable even to these eminent individuals, while it was greatly disliked by the more vulgar practitioners, who had no ideas beyond the dull routine of their little practice; and Cromwell had flattered himself, that, in their anxiety to preserve the monarchical form of government, and, along with it, the old state of the common law, they would willingly assist him to the throne. He now sets more than ever about a new model of the army, taking every opportunity to remove the con-

scientious officers, and to substitute his own creatures. Those whom he chose to retain, and yet could not corrupt, as Harrison and Rich, he deceived and overreached.

The measures of a parliament which had continued so long, and under such circumstances, had necessarily encountered much opposition from clashing interests. Its intentions had been misrepresented, and widely suspected, and Cromwell knew how to address himself to the interests, prejudices, and fears, of the different parties and classes. Conceiving that the attachment of the royalists to monarchy was to the thing, and not to the person, and that, provided they enjoyed the same privileges under him, they would desert the exiled family, he took every opportunity to favour them, and to have the compositions of delinquents lessened. The apprehensions of the lawyers of the injury which would be done to their practice by the projected innovations, he availed himself of: To the clergy, he artfully insinuated, that the party in the house, who wished a commutation of tithes, might attain their object; and thus gained that body: Some of the higher classes he easily alarmed by the danger of levelling principles, unless the populace were kept down by a stronger government; while the leading officers, as well as the people at large, he endeavoured to gain, by inveighing against the parliament, as composed of a body of men who meant to perpetuate themselves in power, though he knew that the act of dissolution was prepar-

ing—who imposed heavy burdens on the people, that themselves might share in the spoil, though they appear to have been remarkably conscientious in money affairs; in short, as a body who would never perform the many good actions which had been expected of them, but who sedulously cultivated their own advancement*.

The royalists, who not only preferred the dominion of an individual as the foundation of their exclusive privileges, but wisely inferred that, if the government were usurped by any man, the nation would look back to the exiled family, did every thing in their power to encourage Cromwell's present schemes, in the hope of rendering him an instrument for the attainment of their own object: The clergy zealously advocated the cause of the general, and many of them even prophesied the destruction of the parliament; while many well-meaning people, jealous of the integrity of that assembly, and deceived by the hypocritical arts of Cromwell, wished it brought to a period. All this time he professed to the parliament more than usual respect for it, declaring, that if it commanded the army to break their swords, the soldiers would obey. But to others he used a different language, suited to their respective views. To some he pretended to lament the violence of the officers, and the unreasonableness of the cler-

* Whitelocke, p. 548, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 447, *et seq.* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 167, *et seq.*

gy and lawyers, who would not be satisfied with the parliament; telling "Quartermaster-General Vernon that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair stand on end."—"One of these," said he, "is headed by Major-General Lambert, who, in revenge of the injury done to him, in not permitting him to go to Ireland with a character and conditions becoming his rank, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution: Of the other, the chief is Major-General Harrison, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, but will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent."—"Thus," says Ludlow, "did he craftily feel the pulse of men towards this work, endeavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, and reserving to himself the appearance of tenderness to civil and religious liberty, and of screening the nation from the fury of the parties before-mentioned *."

Having infused jealousy and discontent, and filled the army with his creatures and dependents, Cromwell moved it to petition the parliament for a dissolution, and the appointment of another; expecting that that assembly would, to avoid force, instantly dissolve, without adopting sufficient precautions for a new parliament, and that, in the interim, he might find an opportunity to usurp the

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 449-50.

whole power of the state. The petition was alarming; but the parliament civilly answered the military, that it was just engaged in that business. Cromwell, however, could brook no delay, and was particularly inflamed at the intention of selling Hampton-Court and other palaces, that the crown, divested of its vain adjuncts, should be less desirable. Some regiments had already been sent to the navy as marines: the sea service began to be most respected, the soldiery to be disliked by the people as burthensome: and as it was most probable that the army would be quickly much diminished, he plainly perceived that, if he did not strike now, the opportunity might be lost. But even his nerves faltered under so hazardous a measure. His very intimate favourers proposed a council of forty for the executive; and Whitelocke, a friend to monarchy, depicted the danger he ran. That great lawyer and statesman having been again consulted on the subject, dissuaded him from the attempt to usurp the government, as a measure which would inevitably end in his own or his family's ruin: For that the dispute would then be no longer, which kind of government was most eligible, but whether Charles Stuart or Oliver Cromwell should be king; and then men, taught that the monarchical form was, after all, to be obtruded upon them, would cling to the old family as best entitled to fill the throne. Thus far the view was sound; but the advice which followed was not consonant to the usual perspicacity of Whitelocke:

That he should recall the exiled king, under the condition that the command of the militia should be lodged in his own person, whence, the power of the realm being thus centered in him, he might raise himself and his family to whatever grandeur he pleased. The absurdity of such a scheme could not escape the penetration of Cromwell. No army can long withstand the united wishes of a people; none which he could ever command would have been sufficient to overpower the whole population of Britain. But all classes, with the monarch at their head, would ultimately join in detestation of such a military establishment, while even the troops might be seduced by the combined efforts of king, parliament, and people; and supposing that his own talents might resist all these concurring powers, it was not to be expected that his children should; and then assured would be their destruction. Another advice, which had been formerly recommended—to confer the crown on one of the younger sons of the late king—was again strenuously advised by the same individual; but Cromwell having already all the power and honour which any subject could either attain or desire, was not disposed to abandon his principles, and re-establish monarchy for the behoof of another; and, in his circumstances, it was impracticable: For many now supported him from a thorough conviction of the truth of his protestation—that he aimed at no aggrandisement, but merely at the establishment of that just republic for which they had all fought and

bled—and would have instantly fallen off from him had he manifested such a purpose.

The demand of the army for an immediate dissolution, not having been complied with, Cromwell, who afterwards confessed that he knew of the purpose to dissolve, persuaded Harrison, Rich, and some other independent and virtuous, though, in this instance, short-sighted men, that the declaration by that assembly was a mere pretext, their object being to reduce the army, when they might perpetuate their power without obstruction as they would not fail to discover a reason for recalling the vote and continuing their authority. In this way he obtained their concurrence to his designs against that assembly, if it should not save him the trouble and danger by dissolving itself. News having been brought to him by Colonel Ingolsby that some fresh business would require other meetings, (for he had flattered himself that the parliament would dissolve,) he determined to delay no longer. Having, therefore ordered a body of three hundred soldiers to attend him, he placed some in the lobby, others on the stairs, and, with Harrison, entered the house. There he met with St. John, to whom he lamented the sad but necessary duty devolved upon him,—a duty which grieved him to the soul, and which he had earnestly, and with tears, beseeched the Lord not to impose on him, but which was unavoidable for the glory of God. He then took his seat, and listened for some time to the debate; when, beckoning to

Cromwell
dissolves the
parliament,
April 19,
1653.

Harrison, he told him that he now conceived it to be the time for the execution of his purpose. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous: I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it." "You say well," returned Cromwell, and kept his seat for about a quarter of an hour; but when the vote was to be put on the subject before the house,—which regarded the act of dissolution,—he said to Harrison, "now is the time, I must do it;" and, starting up, he loaded the assembly with every species of abuse, telling them they had sat long enough there for all the good they had done: That they had espoused the corrupt interests of presbyterians and lawyers; and that they had only adopted the measure of dissolution when they perceived it could not be longer avoided; but that, were the necessity removed, they would recal what they had done: That some of them were whoremasters, and on this he looked to Henry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth, who had incurred the reproach of irregular lives,—reproach very probably, at least, much increased, by their opposing the adultery act: That others were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust, as well as scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should continue longer as a parliament. "I tell you," said he, stamping furiously, and pacing up and down the house,—“I tell you, you are no longer a parliament.” Taking up the mace, he said, "what shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away." The speaker kept

his seat ; but Harrison led him out. Some members rose to answer Cromwell, and vindicate their integrity : he, however, would allow no one to speak but himself, “ which,” says Whitelocke, “ he did with so much arrogance in himself, and reproach to his fellow members, that some of his privadoes were ashamed of it.” Sir Harry Vane exclaimed, “ this is not honest, yea it is against morality and common honesty ;” but Cromwell fell a railing, crying out, “ Oh, Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !” “ It is you,” said he to the house, that have forced me to this ; for I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me to this.” Alderman Allen told him that matters were not yet irretrievable ; that if the soldiers were dismissed, all might be well ;” but Cromwell having gone too far to recede, instantly changed his tone, and charged the Alderman with the embezzlement of some hundred thousand pounds, which, as treasurer of the navy, he alleged Allen had not accounted for ; and ordered him into custody. Allen coolly replied, “ that it was well known not to have been his fault that the accounts were not yet passed, as they had been repeatedly tendered to the house.”

Having acted this treacherous part, he ordered the guard to clear the house, and carried off the records with his own hands. Amongst these was the bill for dissolution, which, as he had now an opportunity of misrepresenting it, he gave out,

was calculated to continue the present parliament by filling up the vacant seats, and then, by rotation, to allow new elections for so many places at a time.

In the afternoon, the council of state met; but Cromwell, accompanied with Lambert and Harrison, repaired thither, and told them that, if they met as private persons, they might sit unmolested; but that there was no place for them in an official capacity: That they could not be ignorant of what had occurred in the morning, and that their powers had determined with the parliament. Bradshaw answered him thus: "Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear of it; but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves." Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot, spoke to the same effect; but, as there was no contending with military violence, they departed.

The council of war had no sooner heard of this strange occurrence, than it met to take it under its most serious consideration; but Cromwell informed them that the business was done: and, still continuing the mask, he professed more self-denial than ever, assuring Colonel Okey, and other upright officers, who desired satisfaction in a measure which they conceived to be fraught with public ruin, that he would do more good than could be expected of the parliament. This constrained

them to silence, but Okey, still dissatisfied, inquired of Desborough what could be his meaning for thus dissolving the parliament with such scorn, when he had publicly opposed the petition of the army? Desborough replied, "that if ever he had drolled in his life, he had drolled them."

"Thus," says Whitelocke, "it pleased God that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their servants; and those whom they had raised pulled down their masters." But as a great portion of the people were deceived, he is not correct in saying that "all honest and indifferent men were disgusted at this unworthy action;" a great portion of the clergy rejoiced; most of the officers of the army were pleased; and the cavaliers, who, expecting that the dominion of an individual would ultimately lead to the re-establishment of the old dynasty, and its principles, and consequently of their own power, were elated with the event. The Dutch, too, who are said to have been busily intriguing to effect the object, now flattered themselves with the prospect of a speedy peace, since the public burdens, which had been cheerfully borne for the general good, would be productive of discontent when the people perceived that they served only to exalt a treacherous individual. The commissioners of the navy, however, though they detested the usurpation of Cromwell, determined to continue their office to humble

a foreign enemy; and to their judicious exertions are to be attributed the farther achievements of the British navy*.

* Whitelocke, p. 550, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 450, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi. p. 457 *et seq.*; but Clarendon is not to be depended on. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 236, 249. Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1331, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 128, *et seq.*

CHAP. XIII.

State of the Nation under Cromwell's Usurpation.—Barebone's Parliament.—Cromwell made Protector.—Peace with Holland.—Another Parliament.—Insurrection of the Royalists.—State of Europe, and war with Spain.—Cromwell's third Parliament.—Humble Petition and Advice.—Dissolution of Parliament.—State of the Nation.—Conquest of Jamaica.—Success and death of Blake.—Capture of Dunkirk.—Sickness and Death of Cromwell.

THOUGH Cromwell usurped the sovereign power, he was not in a condition to become absolute. The immense diffusion of political knowledge, with the more equal distribution of property, had so deeply fixed the principles of freedom in the public mind, that he never could expect to eradicate them; and he was well aware that his army, without the support of a considerable portion of the community, would be soon inadequate to preserve his pre-eminence. It was by traducing the late parliament, as occupied only with contemplating the means to perpetuate their own power, and to

promote the individual interests of the members, and by his ardent professions of patriotism, and real or affected zeal for a general liberty of conscience, that he succeeded in blinding the public eye to his selfish views of aggrandizement, while he does not seem himself to have projected more than to establish himself on the throne, under limitations short of the theory of the old government, and sanctioned by new parliaments. By balancing parties, he retained power for five years; but, even during that period, he was exposed to endless plots, and obliged to delude the people, with, at least, the semblance of liberty, while, by the selection of eminent lawyers to fill the bench, he, (till the appointment of the major-general of the twelve districts marred his plans,) endeavoured to attach the great body of the population, by the strict dispensation of justice, and the most ample enjoyment of civil, though not of political liberty. To the royalists he held out the hope of enjoying under him, the exclusive privileges which they possessed under the late dynasty, and insinuated his dislike of measures pursued by the parliament, as tending to confound ranks: the presbyterians he flattered with the prospect of securing them fully in their tithes, as well as in the ecclesiastical power: to the independents he inveighed against the parliament's slowness to reform abuses, civil and ecclesiastical, accusing them of carnal self-seeking, and undue attachment to the intolerant form of presbyteries. Many of the republicans he for some time deceived, by assurances that his only object was the es-

tablishmen' of that pure commonwealth for which they had struggled, but which he represented as unattainable under the late parliament. The very catholics, against whom he had railed so furiously, were now assured that the penal laws would be suspended. In the progress of his government, as one party aimed at his destruction, he endeavoured to alarm all the others, and terrify them into a union with him, in order to crush a faction whose success would be so pernicious to themselves. To the presbyterians, he insinuated, that as the success of the royalists, on the one side, would be attended with the re-establishment of episcopacy and the service-book, they would not only lose their livings, but be exposed to severe vengeance for having so long enjoyed them, to the exclusion of the others; and, on the other hand, that the success of the independents and commonwealth's men would probably lead to some arrangement prejudicial to their right of tithes. To the independents he held out the prospect of intolerance under the presbyterians, and, if the royalists succeeded, under the hierarchy, with the danger of vengeance from the ascendancy of men who had been so long infuriated by successful opposition. The republicans, whom he most dreaded, he alarmed with the terror of an unconditional restoration of the exiled family, accompanied with murders, banishments, and confiscations. The royalists stood thus much alone, and he inspired them with fear of joining the presbyterians,

(as he had done the presbyterians of joining with them,) representing that, how much soever the presbyterians might be disposed to restore the exiled family, it was only on condition of the king's submitting to their terms, which were absolutely intolerant to all the cavaliers. The balancing of parties was his safety; and able coadjutors performed the ostensible part.

The convention,
called a parliament,
summoned.
Meets 4th
July, 1653.

Many consultations were held by Cromwell and his officers about the future form of government; and he pretended at first to lament that he had incurred a responsibility beyond his powers, and which exposed him to many temptations. The reply of Major Saloway evinces the spirit of the man, and was not calculated to flatter the general; "The way to free you from these temptations, is for you not to look upon yourself to be under them; but to consider that the power is in the good people of England, as it formerly was." Various plans for the executive were proposed: Lambert was for vesting it in twelve councillors, Harrison in seventy, in imitation of the Jewish Sanhedrim; but, after much consultation, the extraordinary device was adopted of summoning a person from every county, to whom should be submitted the plan and constitution of the future government. The writs were directed in the name of the general, as if he had been a sovereign prince; and such elected as might be consonant to his views; but though this device was adopted, there seems to be little ground for the ridicule cast upon the assembly, as composed merely of men raised from the

lowest walks of life, and altogether destitute of the intelligence necessary for their situation. There were in the assembly several men of known distinction, and it would have defeated Cromwell's own scheme to have brought forward so inferior a class, when it was his object to obtain such a recognition of his power, as might remove the odium of usurpation, and make his government respected*.

When this assembly met, Cromwell addressed them in a long and artful speech, though in some things he seems to have laboured to be unintelligible, while he desired them to encourage a pious ministry, and congratulated them as introductory to the reign of the saints. To this assembly was proposed an instrument of government, by which the executive was to be vested in a council of forty, afterwards limited to thirty-one, of whom nine were

Meets 4th
July, 1653.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 461, *et seq.* "Many of the members of this assembly," says this author, "had manifested a good affection for the public; but some there were among them who were brought in as spies and trepanners; and though they had been always of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty and the service of the nation. This assembly, therefore, was composed, for the most part of honest and well-meaning persons," and Clarendon allows there were some men of distinction amongst them; but alleges the rest were all low. We shall afterwards try his correctness on this subject. Whitelocke says, and his impartiality is admitted by all, while his opportunities were questionless the best,—"*It was much wondered by some that these gentlemen, many of these being persons of fortune and knowledge, would at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation,*" p. 559. Were Clarendon's account, which has been so adopted by Hume, correct, the conclusion would just be, that Cromwell was insane—since, instead of advancing his object, that would have inevitably ruined it.

to be a quorum. The convention appointed various committees for public affairs, with power to inquire into the abuses of church and state, and the means of rectifying them. These committees were proposed by Cromwell's friends, and the pretended object was to have the law reformed, and the church reduced to a more evangelical constitution; but bodies of men, however selected, are not to be depended upon by any individual in power, unless he have the means of retaining them as his instruments by immediate interests, or by the prospect of honours and rewards for themselves and their families; and this convention, having been invested with authority, taught Cromwell that it knew how to exercise it. The committees on law and religion alarmed both the lawyers and the clergy; and Cromwell, who perceived that the convention really proceeded with a determination to vindicate its own authority, and reform what it deemed to be amiss, used all his influence to terrify these bodies into an union with him against this new power, whose immoderate zeal, he predicted, would otherwise bring every thing into confusion. Nay, he had the effrontery to allege, that he was afraid of their proceeding to extirpate even the law and the gospel, and subvert the rights of property, alleging, as a proof of the last, that they denied the patron's right of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices, and were for vesting it in the parishioners. A powerful body, however, perceived it to be their interest to support Cromwell

against the convention; for it was proposed by some, that, as the great officers of the army had already made plentiful estates out of the public stock, they should thereafter serve without pay; which was evidently intended for the removal of officers whose interest with the military was thought dangerous to the state; that the salaries of officers of the excise and customs should be reduced, and the exorbitant fees of the law diminished; and that all who solicited places should be considered incapable of holding them: but there was one grand measure proposed, that of abolishing the court of chancery, which gave the handle that Cromwell wanted to charge them with an intention to overturn all the legal authorities in the country, and which has generally afforded a subject of ridicule to historians. In forming a judgment on such a question, it is necessary not only to inquire into the origin of that court, but into its condition anterior to that period. This court has unquestionably been found extremely useful in granting relief, in cases where the ordinary courts of law have no cognizance; but it cannot be denied that, by a new arrangement, the necessity for such a tribunal,—which owes its power to the strict technicalities observed in the ordinary courts, and the limited nature of their jurisdiction,—might be superseded. The first object of the court was to temper strict law with equity; but a long train of decisions has now reduced the principles of equity into such a clear body of law, that the judge is no longer at

liberty to follow out his own abstract views of justice; while the subject can ever refer to that body of law for the regulation of his own conduct, and rely with confidence on a decision, whenever a similar case has already been determined. But it would be the last degree of unfairness to pass judgment upon the views of men in a former age by standard of our own times, when circumstances are completely altered. At a former period, the courts of law and the court of chancery had ever been wrangling about their respective jurisdictions. It is true that the chancellor might then occasionally walk by a precedent; but, generally speaking, there was, under the pretext of equity, no injustice too gross not to be committed, and the man who bribed highest was sure of gaining his cause. The corruption of Bacon is well known, and, after his fall, the house of the Duke of Buckingham was a general resort for litigants in chancery, while his retainers, in defiance of every principle of honesty, besieged the court, that, by their presence, they might overawe the judge to decide according to their master's mandate. It is perfectly evident then, that the court of chancery at that period, and the court of chancery now, agree only in name: hence the historians, who ridicule the convention upon the ground of their design to abolish this court, as if it had been the same with that now known under the same denomination, are either unacquainted with the spirit of that age, or guilty of an imposition by the abuse of words.— In the course of the debate on that subject, the

court was pronounced the greatest grievance in the nation; and it was said that, for dilatoriness, and bleeding the people to their utter perishing and undoing, it might compare with, if not surpass, any court in the world: it was confidently affirmed, by a gentlemen of worth, that there were, at that moment, before that court, nearly three thousand causes, some of which had depended for five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty years, and even more: That many thousand pounds had, to the utter ruin of families, been spent on these causes; and that there occurred, in almost every question before the ordinary tribunals, a pretext for carrying it thither, where the remedy was worse than the disease, as what was done one day was contradicted the next, so that, in some cases, there had been no fewer than five hundred different orders; the consequence of which was, that most causes never came to a decision at all, but ended in a reference, when the litigants had no longer money to continue the process. Surely such a state of things as this required a remedy*;

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 198-9.

The statement in the text presents a complete answer to the defence so injudiciously set up for Bacon—that he was bribed merely into interlocutory orders, and not final judgments, as few of his decisions were reversed; since, by such a course, he really inflicted grosser injustice than by deciding unfairly at once. It is, indeed, extraordinary, that such a plea should have been urged for that great philosopher, but profligate member of society. Can any injustice be more heinous than that of keeping a man out of his right, ruining his family by tedious litigation, and enormous expense; though the judge, to save his own character, does not put his hand to the final judgment? But I do not comprehend what is meant by reversal

and though men of great ability at this moment held the seals as commissioners, Whitelocke, Widdrington, and Lenthall, yet the proposal to appoint commissioners, under new powers, to decide the causes, which was intended, appears to have been at least not very objectionable.

The convention surrender back their power to Cromwell, Dec. 19, 1653.

Having gained many parties in the convention, as well as out of doors, Cromwell determined to put a period to an assembly which threatened to blast his own prospects, and, in particular, to abridge

in the house of lords, when the same judge was to sit on the wool-sack, supported by all the corrupt influence of the crown; to hear and determine those very causes, which he had already so basely decided in the court below. I am the more particular on this subject, in consequence of the attempt which is too visible in certain precise gentlemen, to uphold Bacon's moral character from the splendour of his philosophical. These gentlemen would, I suppose, even defend his ungrateful and treacherous conduct to Essex, who had patronized him when his own friends would not, and had bestowed on him a good estate as a gratuitous donation, and whom he yet, afterwards, in order to ingratiate himself with the queen, acted against as an adviser, a lawyer, and an author. The precise gentlemen, however, who thus unscrupulously defend the character of Bacon, deceive themselves, if they imagine that their own motives for thus clinging to a philosophical name can escape detection. Virtue, forsooth, ever accompanies genius; but they are virtuous, and therefore men of genius; while, if their genius be acknowledged, their failings must be overlooked! There is not, in my opinion, any practice more baneful to society than thus defending the errors of genius, since young men, who have little talent to boast of, encourage themselves in vice and irregularities, in imitation of those whom they are taught to admire. It is common for, though unfortunate and injudicious in, certain bodies of men, to defend a false brother of their party, out of a fear of bringing reproach upon the whole class: by casting him off, however, they would prevent the possibility of imputation against their party; by screening the guilty, they encourage others to similar acts, and thus justly fasten the reproach.

the power of the army. He therefore gained a corrupt party, with the speaker, Mr. Rouse, who was provost of Eton college, at their head, to meet at an early hour, and resign their authority into his hands. Some, however, suspecting the design, attended the meeting, and, in a long debate, vindicated their proceedings. They argued that, all the public enemies being subdued, there was no necessity for continuing so large a military force; that, as to the reformation of the law and the church, it was the object for which they had been called together; and little did it become those who condemned them now to use the language they did, since they had been the very men to advise still stronger measures than the house had contemplated: That, as to the allegation, that, because they proposed to take the power of presentation from the patron and confer it on the parishioners, they invaded the right of private property—it was unfounded, since the parishioners who supported, ought in all fairness to have the right of electing the minister; and the practice of the patron's obtruding one upon them, came fraught with the consequences of his having it in his power to prescribe religion to the parish. As the debate continued, the house began to fill, and Cromwell's creatures, dreading the result, exclaimed, that this was not a time for debate, but for considering the means of avoiding the evils which had been complained of. But Mr. Rouse, the speaker, took the most effectual course to

serve the usurper: leaving the house, with the rest of the cabal, he repaired to Whitehall, and stated to the general that, as they had been called together, as well as entrusted with power by the army, for the public good, and now perceived their inability to perform what had been expected of them, they resigned their authority into his hands from whom they had received it.

The rest of the convention continued together until they were dismissed by a guard. Among these was Harrison, who, like Milton and many others, had been deluded by the ardent professions of Cromwell to assist him in usurping power, and of whom, to make the meeting appear ridiculous, a foolish and unauthenticated story is told, that the guard having asked what they were about, he answered that they were seeking the Lord in prayer; to which the other replied, that they must seek the Lord elsewhere, for to his knowledge he had not been there for a long while. To ridicule this convention, too, it has been ironically called Barebones' parliament, from the circumstance of one of the members having that patronymic, with the Christian name of Praise-God. This species of Christian name is alleged to have been common; and we are informed by Mr. Hume, that the pretended saints changed their names from James, Anthony, &c. to scripture phrases: the fact, however, is, that it was not the individuals who changed their names, but the parents, according to a practice which had subsisted for some time, that gave

such names at christening their children, conceiving that the Christian name could not be better derived than from the fountain of Christianity.

Cromwell used all his influence with the independent members to prevail on them to subscribe a renunciation of their power, but they resolutely refused it; and he discovered, what was to him a melancholy truth, that a convention, summoned by his own authority, and composed even of individuals of his own selection, was not to be converted into an instrument for confirming his power. The circumstance, however, is the less to be wondered at, when we reflect, that he had no means of gaining or retaining the affections of individuals by places, jobs, and pensions. Some new device, therefore, was requisite, and it was soon resorted to; but before we proceed to the relation of that, we must detail the events which, in the meantime, occurred in the Dutch war*.

* Hume's account of the proceedings of this assembly is partly supported by Clarendon, partly without the shadow of authority, and, upon the whole, utterly groundless. There is no foundation for his statement relative to the law; on the contrary, they took up the ground of their predecessors, the Long Parliament. His statement relative to the clerical function, is likewise unfounded; and tithes were expressly voted to be the right of incumbents. See Journals, which, from certain pencil marks, I am satisfied Hume had before him. Those who know any thing of the law of marriage, will not be surprised at being told, that it was allowed to be constituted by a justice before witnesses; but that a proper record of marriages and baptisms was to be kept; and a parchment certificate granted by the magistrate on the marriage. The civil law, the canon law—the law of England, prior to the marriage act, all held that marriage is constituted by the mere consent of the parties, as well as *facie ecclesiæ*; and

Naval suc-
cesses.

Notwithstanding the dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, the commissioners of the navy, who had been nominated by the legislature, conceived it to be their duty to continue in the

such is the law of Scotland at this day. On this subject, I cannot refrain from referring to the admirable speech of Sir William Scott, now Lord Stowell, in the case of *Gordon v. Dalrymple*, a speech which does equal credit to the scholar, the lawyer, and the philosopher.

What Hume says about the notion entertained of rooting out the Dutch, as worldly-minded men, is utterly groundless. He quotes Thurloe's State Papers, and the following passage is the one he relies on. It is a letter from a Mr. Edward Bernard to Strickland, dated Adle, 4th June, 1653, (the parliament did not meet till 4th July,) in which the writer gives an account of a great naval victory, and proceeds thus: "The very noyse of the gunns, which was heard very plaine for three days together in some of these parts, hath strucke a very great terror into moste hearts; *insemuch, that the moste judicious amongst them doe begin to consider, and to contemplate, in case these two mighty potentates should join together, what would become of the kings of the earth.* Doubtless Babilon is upon his fall, and that is likely to be the success and issue of this warre with Holland; *although it is strong upon my hearte to conclude, that the Hollander is not yet low enough to helpe to carry on the work that God hath cut out for them to doe. They minde only the carryinge on off their trade. They judge that worke enough for them to doe; but I am confident God, in his due time, will fit them for higher employment.*" Vol. i. p. 272-3. This is the sort of evidence which Mr. Hume thinks fit to adduce in proof of his assertion that the parliament meant to exterminate the Dutch! In p. 591, also referred to there is not one syllable to countenance the statement; and as Mr. Hume's pencil mark is also there, I cannot conceive what he was dreaming about.—Scobell's Collection.

Clarendon's relation does little credit to his veracity; but that is not extraordinary. He accuses them of being enemies of the universities and of learning, &c. all without the slightest cause. See *Harris's Life of Cromwell*, p. 330, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 163, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 559, *et seq.* In *Silvester's Life of Baxter*, we have a severe charge against the convention, but an unfounded one, of

discharge of the important function committed to them, since there was a wide difference between measures requisite to reduce a foreign enemy to reasonable conditions, and such as tended to the oppression of the people at home, or the support of unlawful authority. An alliance which had been projected, was effected with Sweden, which enabled the English to procure the materials for ship-building on easy terms, and a fleet, superior to any which had yet appeared in England, was equipped. The Dutch were no less active, and their efforts were prodigious. On the 3d of June, 1653, the English fleet, consisting of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ships, under the command of Moncke and Dean, assisted by Penn and Lawson, encountered the Dutch fleet, consisting of ninety-eight sail, and seven fireships, under the command of Van Tromp, De Wit, and De Ruyter; and the contest continued for two days,

their having endeavoured to overturn the established ministry. The same author, however, ridicules the idea of the alleged levellers ever dreaming of equalizing property. See *Clar.* vol. vi. p. 481, *et seq.* *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 151, *et seq.* *Cobb.* vol. iii. But indeed, when we consider the testimony borne by Hume himself, in favour of Whitelocke, there cannot be conceived a shadow of excuse for him. See about tithes, p. 570. See *Journals*, which entirely contradict Clarendon's statement;—Barebones, too, would rather appear to have been a man of consequence;—see *Whitelocke*. There was a party in the nation who conceived that every man should not only be allowed to chuse his own religion, but contribute, as he himself thought proper, towards the support of the pastor whose duties he exacted. The party, however, does not appear to have been great. Yet let us not despise the opinion; but remember that it has been taken up by Dr. Adam Smith himself as a sound one, and been acted upon successfully in a vast empire—the United States of America.

with unremitting fury: the English were, as usual, successful, the enemy having been driven, with great loss, into their harbours—but their joy was not unalloyed, as they lost Dean, a steady republican, and some other brave officers. Peace became more than ever necessary to the states, and they had dispatched ambassadors to the late convention, called a parliament; but the terms proposed by the English were deemed too rigid, while a plan for incorporating the two republics was rejected. The negotiation, therefore, failed; and the Dutch gave a convincing proof of their vast resources, by soon fitting out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, of which many were larger than any they had hitherto built. This immense fleet having been sent to sea, was opposed on their own coast by an English one of ninety sail, commanded by Moncke, Lawson, and Penn; when a battle, still more bloody than any of the preceding, was fought; and the Dutch having lost their admiral, Van Tromp, who fell by a musket-shot, and twenty-four of their ships, with 4000 men killed, and 1000 as prisoners, retired: But they had done such damage to their adversaries, that they were unable to follow up their success, and were even obliged to quit that coast. The English, however, only lost one ship in the engagement, and 700 men. These reiterated losses by the Dutch, raised up in the states hostility to the prevailing party there, and afforded the Orange faction a pretext for turning men's eyes towards the young prince as a resource against their domestic ad-

versaries, for their mismanagement of public affairs. Peace was not concluded between the two commonwealths till the protectorate, and therefore we must return to our relation of civil transactions *.

The hypocritical pretences of Cromwell for dissolving the Long Parliament, and his ardent professions of desiring only the public good, had misled a great portion of the people; but, when they perceived that, instead of calling a parliament duly elected, to take the full management of affairs out of his hands, he summoned a number of individuals, selected by himself for their supposed aptitude to promote his designs, they began to alter their opinion of the usurper. The respectability of many of the members, however, which Cromwell was obliged to attend to as the very basis of his scheme, made them suspend their judgment till they saw the result of that assembly's deliberations; but when they perceived that even this meeting must be ignominiously dissolved, because it asserted a right to independence, and devoted itself to the affairs of the commonwealth, instead of promoting the unprincipled views of the man who had congregated them, their confidence in him was, in a manner lost, while the members returned to their respective counties to spread dissatisfaction at their treatment. But his ambition

New form
of govern-
ment.

* Ludlow, vol. i. p. 465, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi. p. 487. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 272, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 536, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 193. Gumble's Life of Moncke, p. 58, *et seq.* Skinner's Do. p. 46. Moncke and Dean were in the same ship. Lawson, Jordan, Goodson, performed the most praiseworthy service on the first occasion.

soon manifested itself in stronger colours. The title of general did not suit his arrogant pretensions, and a new scheme of government must be devised, and a higher character assumed by him. After the dissolution of the late convention, therefore, a new plan of government was prepared by Lambert, which, as it differed little from the old theory of the constitution, it is not surprising should have been conceived, as it is reported to have been, in four days. When this form was proposed in the council of officers, Lambert, according to concert, expatiated upon the mischiefs which had accrued from the republican form of government, and the necessity of appointing one executive magistrate, who should hold his office not only under certain restrictions, but the usual control of parliament: the proposition was not heard with the spirit which had been expected: Some of the council, who had never anticipated such a result to all their labours, finding it to be impossible to frustrate the project of nominating one chief magistrate, insisted that the office should not be vested either in any of the exiled family or a general. It was not deemed expedient at that meeting to agitate that point farther; but the new scheme was carried, and the council of state nominated. The arrangement was to this purpose: That the legislative power was to be preserved for the people, and exercised through their representatives, in conjunction with the individual who, with monarchical power, should hold only the humble name of protector: That a parliament

should be elected every third year, according to the arrangement devised by the Long Parliament, and that each should be entitled to sit five months without interruption, the first meeting to take place on the 3d of September following: That every bill be presented to the protector for his assent; but that, in the event of its containing nothing subversive of the constitution, it was, after it had been submitted to him twenty days, to have the force of a law, whether he agreed to it or not; if, however, it affected any principle of the constitution, a negative should be allowed to him: That the executive power should be vested in the protector and his council, though the power over the militia should be jointly lodged with the protector and parliament; and with regard to the council, which was nominated at this time, its numbers should be in this manner filled up on any death or removal—the parliament, on any vacancy, should nominate six, of whom the council should select two, and the protector one of these: That in the event of corruption or misconduct in any member of the council, the parliament was authorized to appoint seven members, and the council six, who, with the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, should be empowered to try the case. The protector might also add to the council by the consent of the majority. All writs were to run in the protector's name, and honours flow from him; but the chancellor, and other judges, were to be appointed by parliament; and, in the intervals of parliament, by the council,

whose choice, however, should be subject to the approbation of the next meeting of that legislative assembly. The council was composed of the following individuals: Philip, Lord Lisle, Generals Fleetwood and Lambert, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, baronets; and Montague, Desborough, Skippon, Strickland, Laurence, Sydenham, P. Jones, Richard Mayor, and Francis Rouse. A military establishment of 10,000 horse and dragoons, and 20,000 foot, with a sufficient navy to guard the seas, was agreed to at the same time, while it was arranged that the protector and his council should raise money for the support of it till the first meeting of parliament. The sum of L.200,000 was allotted for the administration of justice, and the incidental expenses of government. A full toleration was also provided for all sects, which neither practised nor professed licentiousness, except papists and episcopalians*.

This plan of government having been agreed to by the ruling powers, it was not long till Cromwell was appointed for the protectorate: On the 16th of December, he was inaugurated, with a degree of pomp which little accorded with the moderation he had hitherto professed, and he evinced his ambition of royalty by his care of the pompous accompaniments: He issued out a commission for taking charge of the palaces and forests, while he removed his family to Whitehall;

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 476, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 571, *et seq.*

fully evincing that he had not opposed the sale of the royal houses, &c. without the selfish motive of which he had been suspected*.

This constitution, defective as it was, appeared to be accompanied with certain safeguards to liberty, which the government under the late king did not possess. Cromwell's idea was, that the statute of Henry VII. which enjoined obedience to a king *de facto*, though not *de jure*, strongly supported his usurpation; and many, perceiving that the old constitution by parliaments, whose powers were enlarged to such a degree as might now make them the organ of the public will, was still to be continued, imagined that much had been gained by the change, as the usurper, having no inherent right in his own person to the supreme magistracy, could expect to secure his pre-eminence for himself and his family, by a rigid adherence to constitutional principles, and a stricter dispensation of justice only. It is possible that, could the parliaments which he summoned have brooked the power that he usurped, the view might not have been altogether so incorrect; but the usurpation was as unwise as it was cruel. By recalling kingly power, it taught mankind to consider that his object, in all the late struggle, had been self-aggrandizement; and that, if monarchical government was to be re-established, it should be under one of the late king's family. When a parliament

* Ludlow, vol. B. p. 480-1. Whitlocke, p. 577.

was assembled, therefore, it, feeling its own power, directed the exercise of its authority against the usurper himself, and left him no alternative but either to dissolve the meeting, or resign his usurped power. The authority of parliament and that of the protector immediately clashed, and he had no means of gaining a party by undue influence. If, however, his power were superseded, he sank at once into the private citizen, and might, divested of military command, be brought to justice for his dissolution of the former parliament.

The royalists exulted on the change; but when they perceived that the protector established his government, and that the people still adhered to their principles, of either not restoring monarchy at all, or of doing it under conditions which excluded the malignants, they, conceiving now that Cromwell, at the head of his army, was the grand obstacle to their recovering power, devised plots against his life, while the exiled king, under the direction of Hyde and Nicholas, published a declaration inviting the people to assassinate him, and offering a reward for the atrocious deed*. Let us, however, hear the language of a prelate

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 572. Of the temper of Charles's court, some idea may be formed from the correspondence between Nicholas and Ormonde: "But I must tell your lordship," says the first, 6th April, 1661, "the harangues in council, and discourses in the court at Breda, were, that honour and conscience were but bugbears; and that the king ought to govern himself rather by the rules of prudence and necessity." Carte's Lett. vol. i. p. 435.

on this subject: "But wherefore do we quarrel the remissness of princes abroad, since there is not among ourselves that hath the courage of a gallant man to meet with Cromwell, who jets up and down, and strike him to the heart? But it is our shame that every one wisheth that done by another's hand which he dare not, for fear, do himself *."

We have already recorded the victories gained against the Dutch, and it is now time to state, that peace was concluded with Holland in the beginning of the year 1654. The terms were, that a defensive league should be established betwixt the two republics, and the superiority of the flag be yielded to the English; that the authors of the massacre at Amboyna, if yet alive, should be brought to punishment by their own country: That commissioners should be sent to London to adjust the disputes of the India companies of the respective nations; that the losses sustained by the English in the East Indies, the Brazils, and Muscovy, should likewise be settled by these commissioners, in order that restitution should be made by the States-General; and that, in the event of a dispute betwixt the respective commonwealths, the decision should be left to the Swiss cantons. The King of Denmark had shewn hostility to the English nation, and seized some of their ships at Copenhagen; but, as the Dutch proposed to compen-

Peace with
Holland.

* Hackett, in Life of Williams, part ii. p. 225.

sate the loss thus sustained by the English, Denmark was included in the treaty. The state of Holland, headed by De Wit, being now the ruling one, an article was agreed to between that state and Cromwell, that the prince should be excluded from the office of stadtholder, admiral, or general. When the commissioners arrived, they agreed to restore the island of Poleron to the English, to make reparation to the heirs of those who had been massacred at Amboyna, and to pay nine hundred thousand livres, by two instalments, for the various losses sustained during the war *. These terms were much inferior to what the parliament could have obtained; yet not only the usurper's creatures, but the royalists, who saw that the exaltation of an individual would most probably lead to their own restoration, with power and place, did not scruple to attribute the honour of the peace, as well as the glory of the war, to Cromwell. Of the latter, he deserved no share, since it was under the councils of the committee appointed by the parliament that all exertions for fitting out the fleets were made, and by the skill and bravery of the commanders and of their men, that the victories were gained. Medals were, however, struck in honour of the peace, and poetic panegyrics composed on Cromwell. The universities had been silent to the republic, but they could no longer be so to him from whom they expected be-

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 28, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 580, *et seq.* Lud. vol. ii. p. 487. Clar. vol. vi. p. 487.

nefices ; and, in the true style of men of the world, they paid the same adulatory addresses to the protector that had been made to any sovereign of England.

The council, under the pretext that parliament was not yet assembled, usurping the legislating power, issued several ordinances of the last importance : By one, all writs were ordained to run in the name of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging ; by another, the engagement against the government of a house of peers was recalled ; and, by a third, it was declared high treason to compass or imagine the death of the lord protector, or to raise forces against the present government, or to deny that he and the people assembled in parliament were the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy was centered in him ; or to assert that the government was tyrannical, usurped, or illegal, or that there was any parliament now in existence *.

Acts of the
council of
state.

These arbitrary proceedings created great disgust ; but the jarring interests of different parties, with other causes, concurred to induce the people to submit. Many desired peace : The royalists were afraid of the republicans, the republicans of them ; while each was deterred by the apparent hopelessness of succeeding to overturn the present government. The following passage by Ludlow,

State of the
public
mind.

* Scobell's Collection. Harris's Life of Cromwell.

is worthy of a great character: "That we ought to be very careful and circumspect in that particular," (opposing the government,) "and at least be assured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking, otherwise I should account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruction of all those I should induce to engage, though the cause were never so just*." Such was the language of a republican, and we may conclude that it expresses the sentiments of the party. But though they did not disturb the government, they would not recognise it, notwithstanding all the efforts of Cromwell to gain them over to such a measure. The answer of Ludlow to such a proposition was, that he would never come under an engagement to the usurped government, which should afterwards put it out of his power, as a man of honour, to adopt the means which God might present for vindicating the liberties of his country. Harrison and Rich, who, deceived by their blind confidence in the professions of Cromwell, had concurred in the dissolution of the Long Parliament, now raised their voices against the usurpation, and were sent to different prisons†.

Nature of
the admini-
stration of
govern-
ment.

Let us not, however, be misled by the name of a usurpation, to believe that the spirit of England did not manifest itself in ordinary proceed-

* Vol. ii. p. 536.

† Ibid.

ings. The firm integrity of English juries during that period, affords a strong contrast with their servility during the preceding reigns, evincing equally the nobler notions that had been diffused, and the purer principles which had been acted upon: indeed, the abolition of the Court of Star Chamber, and the usurped discretionary power to fine juries, were a sufficient reason for their independence. The case of the famous John Lilburn, during the Long Parliament, has already been alluded to. Case of Lilburn. Charged with sedition, he was tried by a London jury, when he obtained an honourable acquittal; and no sooner was the verdict announced to the crowd at the door, than the air rang with the acclamation of thousands. The parliament, deeming his well-meant proceedings injurious to their plans, banished him by ordinance; but, partly out of confidence in the professions of Cromwell to perform his engagement to the people, and partly out of his own native intrepidity, he returned after the dissolution. Cromwell, however, dreaded him no less than the parliament had done, and therefore had him arraigned for returning against the late ordinance. Lilburn pleaded his cause with a spirit so truly English, that the jury acquitted him in spite of all the usurper's influence, and again the popular voice was raised in favour of the accused*. A foolish plot, however, having been

* Howell's State Trials. Clar. vol. vi. p. 500, *et seq.*; but Clarendon is mistaken as to the origin of Lilburn. He was of a good family. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 553. Whitelocke, p. 553, *et seq.*

Case of Don
Pantoleon
Sa.

formed by some royalists, which was easily defeated, their leaders, Gerard, and one Vowel, a school-master, were apprehended, when Cromwell, afraid to trust them before a jury, tried them before a high court of justice erected for the occasion. The vigour of the government, and the spirit of the people, were manifested on another occasion. Don Pantoleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, who, as brother-in-law of the Portuguese ambassador, had come to England, included in the commission from the King of Portugal, having quarrelled with the individual Gerard whom we have just mentioned, and conceiving that the sacred character of ambassador would protect him in villany, determined to murder his enemy. For this purpose he armed his followers, and went to the Exchange, where, having mistaken a London merchant for Gerard, he immediately ordered him to be murdered. So daring an outrage upon a respectable citizen, enraged the people to such a degree, that they instantly rose and pursued them to the ambassador's house, where the Don took refuge. The usual course would have been to have sent him home to his own government, and have demanded reparation; but, as it was Cromwell's interest to conciliate the affections of the English more than of the Portuguese court, he resolved to allow the matter to be determined by a court of law. After some delays, in consequence of the application of the Portuguese ambassador, and the intervention of that court, the legal point regarding the privileges of ambassadors, by the common law, the

civil law, and the law of nations, was argued at great length, before a court of oyer and terminer, and the jurisdiction of the court was sustained. The trial, therefore, proceeded before a jury, composed one half of English and one half of foreigners. The murderers were convicted and sentenced to be executed. An English boy concerned in the crime was hanged at Tyburn, Don Pantoleon himself was ultimately, after some reprieves, beheaded on Tower-Hill, along with Gerard, whom his design was against. The rest were pardoned*.

The third of September, 1654, a day of the year accounted by Cromwell fortunate, was the time for the meeting of the new parliament, and all men's eyes were turned towards that event. Cromwell and his party exerted themselves to the utmost in elections, yet, in spite of some gross instances of partiality, the general choice of republicans, who had eminently distinguished themselves in the service of the commonwealth, indicated the national sentiments†. But it must be observed that all papists and all royalists, who had borne arms, or been engaged in civil departments during the wars, were excluded. Two hundred and seventy of the members were elected by the counties, the other English members by the towns. Scotland, according to the terms, sent thirty; and Ireland, which had also been incorporated, sent

Cromwell's
second par-
liament
meets, 3d
Sept. 1654.

* Whitelocke, p. 592. Howell's State Trials. Clar. vol. vi. p. 492-44.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 497-8.

as many; but as the government had greater power in Scotland and Ireland, so it exerted greater partiality. When the parliament met, Cromwell, who had uncommon dexterity in discovering pretexts for the justification of his conduct, and exciting the fears of the timid and well-meaning, harangued the parliament on the state of parties, singling out every thing foolish or absurd that the fanatics of any party—and every party does contain bigots or fanatics—either entertained or lay under the imputation of, and inferring that his assumption of the government had been necessary, in order to prevent a total anarchy and general overturn of property, nay the overthrow of the church—by anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and levellers. Pretexts are frequently not so valuable in absolutely deceiving those to whom they are used, as in affording a colour to all who are determined to support the establishment, for adhering to it; and this was fully verified on the present occasion.

His creatures took up the same grounds; but the majority were not to be imposed on. They well knew that there was no class of any importance in the nation who ever dreamt of invading the right of property; and that the word leveller was the reproachful epithet bestowed by him, as well as by the royalists, upon the republicans, whom, as a self-willed set of men, he most hated: that, as for the anabaptists and fifth monarchy men, they were both limited in number; and, as to the first, the reproach which had been long continued against them by all parties, was altogether inappli-

cable to their present condition: that their idea of baptism was innocent in itself, and there was no reason for presuming that, because the anabaptists of Munster had acted upon principles destructive of civil society, their tenets, in regard to government and laws, and rights of property, had ever been embraced, or even contemplated, by those in England, who held a similar opinion regarding the simple point of baptism; and that, as to the fifth monarchy men, who believed that God would finally establish the reign of the saints, when all mankind would live in peace and mutual charity, under the benign influence of the gospel, there was as little to be apprehended from them. Indeed, he allowed that there were many well-meaning people amongst them. The pretexts used by Cromwell, too, were the more glaringly false, from their having been directly against those which he had employed to justify the dissolution of the long parliament. The present assembly, therefore, discharged its duty in a tone that appalled him.

In vain did he pretend to have been raised by the overruling hand of providence, and bestow a fulsome panegyric on his own plan of government, desiring them to believe that he did not speak to them as one that would be a lord over them, but as one that had resolved to be a fellow-servant to them in the interest of this great affair; and that he had resolved to submit himself to their judgment. He affected to rejoice to see so free an assembly; but the members well knew that Lord Grey of Grooby, and other republicans, had been

excluded. The person chosen, as speaker, was Lenthall, who, for opposite reasons, was agreeable both to the protector and the popular members; to the one, because he expected to find him instrumental in promoting his views; to the other, and particularly Bradshaw, because they conceived that, by having him in the chair, they might have some pretext for recalling the long parliament and overturning the usurpation. The first subject which occupied their attention was a most alarming one to the protector—the expediency of recognising his usurped power, and the new plan of government. His party insisted on an approbation of the whole scheme; but the assembly determined to consider its component parts separately, and the first question referred to a committee was, whether the executive should be vested in a single person or in the parliament. In this debate Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Scott, and many others, but more particularly Bradshaw, spoke with such effect against the dominion of an individual, that the party gained daily the accession of young members. Cromwell, having received intelligence of this, and of the probable issue—that a vote would be passed for his deposition—set a guard on the house early in the morning, and dispatched a message to the lord mayor, that precautions might be taken to preserve the peace of the city. The members came to the house; but, instead of access, they were required to attend his highness in the painted chamber. On their arrival there, Cromwell told them that he was surprised at the

subject of debate, and had summoned them thither, because the question was one which, as it involved the nature and existence of the constitution, was contrary to parliamentary privilege; that, by allowing themselves to be returned members under this instrument of government, they had recognised it, and, consequently, by disputing his authority—that by which they had been convened—they declared themselves to be no parliament, and therefore that he would permit no member to return to the house, until he had acknowledged the plan of government by his subscription. Some who had regarded the exclusion of Lord Grey of Grooby, and others, as an act of violence on the assembly, had absented themselves from the beginning; but, now that force was visibly used on the great body, the example was followed by many of the staunch republicans, who conceived that they should render a greater service to their country by shunning the assembly, than by legislating under fetters. About a hundred and twenty, however, subscribed the engagement, and were followed in a few days by others; but no sooner was the house open to them, than they declared that their recognition of the plan of government extended only to that part of it which allowed a right of governing to an individual by successive parliaments. They yet declared that Cromwell should be protector during his life, “hoping,” says Ludlow, “that by this compliance he would have been satisfied, and would, in gratitude, have judged the people, after his death, to have sufficient wisdom to govern themselves.” The parliament

farther agreed upon the number of ships to guard the seas, and voted two hundred thousand pounds a-year for the support of the protector himself, and the salaries of the council, (each councillor was to have a thousand a-year,) and of the judges, with the expenses of foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambassadors. But they, at the same time, voted a declaration of the rights of the people, and, in particular, that no money should be raised unless by the authority of parliament. By the instrument of government it was provided that, on Cromwell's death, the council should chuse his successor: the parliament, on the contrary, determined, that nothing should be done by the council in that event except summoning the parliament; and lest one part of the bill prepared by them should be used in support of the instrument of government, without the other provisions, they added a clause, that no part should be obligatory unless the whole were consented to. Cromwell perceived that this assembly was, like the former, unfitted for his purpose, even after the exclusion of so many members. It neither transferred the office of protector to him and his family for ever, nor voted any permanent revenue, by which he might establish his power without a direct violation of the form of government; while the temper of this convention gave him an earnest of what he was to expect in future. But he was also afraid that they would abridge the power which had been prescribed by the new constitution; and, lest this should occur, he formed the determination, in

which he was seconded by many of his officers, of dissolving the parliament. Having taken his resolution, he summoned them to the painted chamber, on the 22d of January, (1655) and addressed them in a speech, wherein "he made up in words and passion what he wanted in matter to charge them with." The late king had pretended to derive his authority from heaven, and to be the vicegerent of God upon earth, founding this character upon arguments drawn from kingly power and hereditary succession; but Cromwell attained his end by a nearer route. Instead of deriving his claim through a long succession of sacred loins, he referred at once to his own exploits, declaring his success to be a sufficient manifestation of divine favour—a proof of the assistance of the Deity, which all pious men must acknowledge, and which he was himself so sensible of, that he should conceive himself guilty of flying in the face of providence were he to resist the call. He therefore dissolved the parliament; but the prediction of some of his own friends—that, as the measure reminded men of the unhappy dissolutions of parliaments during the late reign, the consequence would be increased disaffection—was fully verified. One cause assigned for the dissolution, was intelligence which he had received of a deep laid conspiracy, in which some of the republicans—headed by Major Wildman, who having received a most liberal education at one of the uni-

Dissolution
of the Par-
liament,
22d Jan.
1655.

versities, wrote with great effect,—had joined*.

Ireland.

Determined, if possible, to centre the power in himself and his children, Cromwell cunningly sent his son Henry to take the command of the Irish army, over even Fleetwood, who had married his daughter, Ireton's widow; but to gratify that individual, he gave him the title of lord deputy, as if he meant only to honour him by the change. The army there having been new modelled, the island was secured for the protector. In the commission sent to Fleetwood, those who were formerly called commissioners were now only styled councillors†.

Scotland,

In the United Provinces, the Orange party, who perceived that the state of Holland would, by the depression of the prince, obtain the pre-eminence over the others, as the republican party was chiefly strong there, for some time obstructed the signing of the articles of the peace with England‡; and, before it was finally concluded, the exiled king obtained assistance to his party in the Highlands of Scotland. Seventeen Dutch ships carried thither 1500 foot, 200 horse, and a large supply of arms; and General Middleton, having arrived with still

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 291, *et seq.* Cob. vol. iii. p. 124, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 497, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 518, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 461, *et seq.*

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 503, *et seq.*

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 28, *et seq.* The State of Holland had resolved to act separately if the others did not comply.

more supplies, was soon at the head of an army of 5000 men. Moncke, Cromwell knew to be an individual who would unscrupulously serve him as long as it should be for his interest ; and, availing himself of the present juncture, as a pretext for giving him the command, he sent him again to Scotland, that he might control the other officers, rather than from any apprehension which he entertained of the insurgents, who, he was well aware, could be easily suppressed. Moncke successfully pursued Middleton into the Highlands, and utterly dissipated his forces ; Middleton himself escaped with difficulty, and the principal insurgents submitted to the government. The protector was then proclaimed, and while the union of the two nations was continued, the government of Scotland was committed to a council, chiefly English. The chief judicature was committed to seven judges, of whom four were English. Justices of the peace were also established, and vassalage abolished. The proportion of the public burdens payable by Scotland was likewise settled. Moncke, besides being made commander-in-chief, was appointed one of the commissioners for civil affairs *. While, however, Cromwell apparently placed such confidence in that individual, he had too much knowledge of character not to send others of a different description, who might control his actions in that

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 504, *et seq.* Nichol's Diary, MS. Clar. vol. vi. p. 505, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 563, *et seq.*

country; men who, though hostile to himself, abhorred still more the restoration of the Stuarts, and whom it was thought expedient to remove from England. Colonel Adrian Scroop, a steady republican, and Colonel Wheathem, were joined with him in the commission. A remark by the latter, in regard to a purpose of making Cromwell king, having been reported, taught him that he was sufficiently long in England: He had exclaimed with the prophet, "hast thou killed and also taken possession?" Lord Broghill was made president of the council, with a salary of L.2000 a-year, and a promise of continuing the salary for life, while his services should be dispensed with in a twelvemonth.

Low as was Scotland reduced in point of power, the clergy still maintained their principles. Cromwell ordered a fast; but they, denying the authority of any temporal power to ordain fasts, refused compliance, and appointed *fasts* of themselves, while they exhorted the people to seek the Lord to preserve the ministry amongst them, to forget the offences of the house of Stuart, and to turn from his people the sad effects of a late eclipse.

While Cromwell was thus using all means to consolidate his power, and paving the way for a diadem, he had nearly fallen a sacrifice to a love of distinction in trifles. He had sent his ambassadors to foreign states, and had been courted by all; and amongst the presents sent to him were six grey Friezland coach-horses. With these in his coach,

attended only by Secretary Thurloe and by his guards, who were now, by his enemies, called his Janizaries, he took an airing in Hyde Park; and, "not doubting," in the sarcastic language of Ludlow, "that three pair of horses he was about to drive, would prove as tame as the three nations which were driven by him," he displaced the coachman and took the reins himself; but, with his accustomed impetuosity, he lashed them furiously on, when the horses, unused to so rough a driver, became perfectly unmanageable, and, breaking off at full speed, overturned the carriage. His foot having been entangled in the tackling, he was dragged a considerable distance, and from the concussion, a pistol in his pocket went off; yet his general good fortune did not desert him here, as he sustained no serious injury from the accident. The event gave rise to much conversation, and many jests at his expense, for having thus, at his years, attempted for the first time to drive six-in-hand. The anecdote is, however, chiefly valuable as illustrative of his character. Distinction in small affairs, as well as in the highest dreams of ambition, was eagerly sought by him. Following out the characteristic humour of England, he excelled in what to our apprehension would be deemed buffoonery; extemporary verses with men of wit he fondly indulged in, and now he must perform the part of a coach-driver*.

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 652-3. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 508. Whitelocke, p. 656, about Cromwell's making verses.

Exploits of
Blake in
the Medi-
terranean.

Raised himself by the times, he partook, in an eminent degree, of the vigour inspired by them, while every department was in some measure still filled with kindred genius. At the head of affairs he obtained the credit of the general measures of the administration, and his name daily became, if possible, more respectable in the eyes of Europe. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had harboured Prince Rupert's ships, and injured the British commerce; but Blake, having been dispatched into the Mediterranean, not only procured satisfaction, but rendered the English name terrible in all that sea. After having mastered the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he determined on curbing the lawless power of the piratical states of Barbary, from which the British commerce was, during the late reign, so much annoyed, and had not become quite secure. Sailing to Algiers, he compelled the Dey to enter into a peace, upon condition of freeing all the English captives, and solemnly engaging to abstain from all further violence. From Algiers he proceeded to Tunis, and demanded restitution of an English ship with its crew. The place, however, being deemed impregnable, the Bey not only refused compliance, but insultingly bade the English commander look to his forts of Porto Farino and Goletto. In spite of the supposed impossibility of the achievement, Blake determined to undertake it: Sailing therefore to a little distance, to mislead the Bey into the idea that he had retired from the conviction of the impracticability of reducing the place, he returned in a few days, and,

with the loss of only about twenty of his men, he battered down the forts, and burned every ship in the harbour. This intrepid action, which filled the whole of Europe with amazement, compelled the Bey to submit to his demands. The governor of Tripoli concluded a peace; and the Grand Signior himself was disposed to court the alliance of England*.

While the external success of England reflecting ^{Insurrection.} upon the protector, at least preserved his high character abroad, his enemies increased at home; and the confirmation of his power at this juncture, may not be improperly ascribed to an injudicious insurrection of the royalists chiefly. That party, corresponding with the exiled monarch, each exaggerated his own power and resources, till they flattered themselves that both were in some measure commensurate with their wishes. Many of the popular party, disgusted at the usurpation, began to express themselves as not even hostile to the restoration of the Stuarts on proper conditions; and a few imagined that, if the royalists were to rise and make some head, they should themselves, when the protector's power was assailed by both parties at once, be enabled to take the lead, and, overturning him, again re-establish a republic. Of these, some therefore began to hold a correspondence with the royalists for an insurrection;

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 580. Whitelocke, p. 621. 627. Biog. Brit. Blake. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 321. 326. 390.

and the latter eagerly encouraged them, trusting that they might prove useful auxiliaries, and yet be cast off in the hour of triumph. With this view Major Wildman, and a small party who, as strenuous republicans, were branded by the protector with the name of levellers, had engaged to rise, while the royalists had concerted to begin the insurrection in various quarters at once. Cromwell, however, was apprized of the whole conspiracy; and his measures to meet it were full of the vigour and decision for which he was so remarkable. Wildman and his friends were apprehended; and the principal rising, under the direction of Sir George Penruddock, Sir Joseph Wagstaff, and More, was so insignificant, that they never mustered four hundred men. The leaders having, with about two hundred, entered Salisbury, seized the sheriff and the judges then on the circuit, when Wagstaff proposed immediately to hang them; but, fortunately for the memory of the rest, and doubtless too for the royal cause, as such a measure would have excited universal execration, they opposed the detestable purpose. The sheriff, however, was threatened with the loss of life unless he proclaimed Charles II.; but, though fully sensible of his situation, he refused to comply. Before this party had amounted to four hundred it was put down. The majority were seized, and Penruddock and some others suffered capitally, while the privates were transported to Barbadoes. Sir Henry Slingsby

and Sir T. Maleverer were seized in Yorkshire, and others elsewhere*.

Nothing could have proved more fortunate for Cromwell. Though Wildman and some other popular men were carried away by the idea, that an insurrection by the royalists would, by counterpoising the protector's power, enable the republicans to regain the ascendancy—the great body, including those inclined to a limited monarchy, were fully aware of the danger of allowing the cavaliers to assemble an armed force. The usurpation might terminate, and different measures be pursued; but terrible would be the result of permitting the royalists to restore the Stuarts, and engross the power of the state. All the other parties, then, presbyterian and independent, rallied in general round the present government, under an apprehension of a worse; and Cromwell was enabled to fall upon a most extraordinary device

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 499, 500.—For an account of Wildman, see p. 551, *et seq.* This noble author censures Penruddock's tender-heartedness in not at once hanging up the judges. That valiant cavalier, fortunately for his own memory, wanted the civilian's cold-blooded cruelty. See also vol. v. p. 187, among other passages, for another proof of Clarendon's disposition. Yet this same historian tells us, that Roll the chief-justice, whom he would have hanged, was turned out of his place, for refusing to officiate against Penruddock; but he would ascribe his conduct to the fear inspired by the affair at Salisbury, as if a coward were not always cruel when he had the power, p. 559. Roll's reason for refusing was, that he might not be thought to act out of personal resentment. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 575. Similar regret at the absence of cruelty not unfrequently stains the pages of the noble historian. Whitelocke, p. 618, *et seq.* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 147, *et seq.* 237. 248. 263. 384. 364, &c.

Appoint-
ment of the
major-ge-
nerals to go-
vern dis-
tricts.

for at once quelling the royalists, gratifying the other parties, and filling his own coffers. He divided England into twelve districts, over each of which he appointed a major-general, with power to keep the district in order, while he subjected each of the royalists who had ever borne arms for the king, to a fine of the tenth part of his estate. He prohibited them too,—for the unquietness of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they administered, an act, certainly, of tyranny and injustice, though endless were their plots,—the use of arms, and even published an interdict against their employing, as chaplains or schoolmasters in their families, such of the clergy as had been ejected for scandalous lives. Such conduct was worthy of a usurper. Some of the major-generals were guilty of a gross abuse of power; and, as we shall find in the sequel, it was not long ere Cromwell was most anxious for the recal of authority from men who, while they alienated the affections of the people by their illegal and rapacious proceedings, became formidable to himself*.

The exiled family and their advisers had relied much on this insurrection, and proportional was their mortification, not only at its suppression, but, at what was far more blasting to their hopes, the

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 519. Clar. vol. vi. p. 570, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 436, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 634. Yet Cromwell continued liberal to some of the episcopal clergy, and even gave L.200 to defray the expense of Archbishop Usher's funeral in Westminster Abbey.

insignificance of the number that had appeared in arms. The French court had entered into an alliance with the protector, by which it had engaged not to afford the Stuarts an asylum in France. Charles II. had therefore fixed his residence at Cologne; but, immediately previous to the late insurrection, he went to Zealand, where he lay concealed, to be in readiness to pass into England on any prospect of success. On the issue of the affair he returned to Cologne*.

The alliance which Cromwell formed with France, and a war that he entered into with Spain, having been generally condemned by historians as impolitic, since it was calculated to give too great a preponderance to France, it will be necessary in this place to enter into a particular relation of those affairs.

Alliance
with
France, and
war with
Spain.

The war that, with such a loss of human blood, had raged in Germany for upwards of thirty years, was, in 1648, terminated by the peace of Westphalia, by which the Lower Palatinate was restored to the elector, and the protestant faith secured in several principalities. Though, however, the whole empire was again nominally united, it was too much divided in interest, as well as split into separate states, to make any great exertion; whence that branch of the house of Austria, though apparently powerful, had little inherent strength; but the Spanish branch was in a still worse condition. Catalonia had revolted, as well as Portugal, and

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 520, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 370, *et seq.*

sought the protection of France, while the Low Countries were invaded by a superior force. The once formidable house of Austria, therefore, was no longer in a condition to menace the rest of Europe. On the other hand, we are extremely apt to overlook the relative situation of France, in consequence of its subsequent exaltation. Under Henry IV. she had made great exertions; but her powers seemed to be withered by his death, while the Huguenots maintained an empire within an empire. To overcome that body was the obvious policy of the French court, and it was steadily pursued by Richelieu and his successors, who kept little faith with that unfortunate party. As the Huguenots were depressed, men saw clearly that France would soon become perhaps no less formidable than the house of Austria had formerly been, and the danger apprehended from that source, as well as from the intrigues with the English court during the civil wars, had raised up a spirit of hostility against the nation; but then came the civil convulsions of France—convulsions undignified even by the pretext of public liberty; and these displayed internal imbecility. What course they might take, it was not easy to predict; and mankind in general could not foresee the eminence which France would attain in the maturer years of Lewis XIV. It would not be wonderful, therefore, if Cromwell really believed the house of Austria to be formidable; but he had other motives for joining with France against Spain. England had no cause to apprehend danger from any foreign

power when her navy carried terror to every shore. The protector, however, had reason to dread the royalists, if supported with foreign aid, and was naturally apprehensive of a co-operation between them and France. But to please him, the French court refused the exiled family even an asylum in their territory, while Spain, though it had received ambassadors both from the parliament and the protector, had zealously countenanced the Stuarts. Cromwell's situation required of him to dazzle the public eye by brilliant exploits, and to keep the soldiery employed, both to prevent the consequences of their discontent at home, and to afford a pretext for raising a fresh body, which he might, as less obliged to them, assume greater authority over, and model on principles more consonant to the usurpation. The neighbourhood of France rendered it formidable in any conjunction with the cavaliers; but, besides the distance of Spain, there was another reason for apprehending less danger from her. The only party in the British empire attached to the Spaniards were the papists, and it was of importance to Cromwell to force the exiled family into a union with that court, as the measure seemed to evince to Englishmen by what religious feelings they were actuated. He had, however, another grand object, to obtain possession of Dunkirk, and the Spanish West India colonies. A squadron was fitted out to subdue the Spanish force in the latter *.

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 759, *et seq.* Le Siècle de Louis XIV. par Volt. ch. v.

Expedition
to the West
Indies;
failure in
Hispaniola,
and taking
of Jamaica.

Having taken his measures, and formed his alliance, he sent a squadron to the West India islands, under the command of Penn and Venables. Hispaniola, now, from the name of the capital, called St. Domingo, was, as the largest of the islands, the object of his ambition. The squadron accordingly directed itself thither; but, great as had been the ability shewn by the commanders at sea, they did not display much talent on land. The conduct of the soldiers was entrusted to Venables on this occasion, between whom and Penn a misunderstanding existed. The troops were ill provided, and he, landing at an improper place, and destitute of guides, marched his small army, in a rude country, under an arid sun, and without provisions, or even water, while they were exposed to an ambuscade from the Spaniards. They reached St. Domingo, however; but, having been decoyed into a defile, they found it necessary to desist from the enterprise; and, exhausted by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, to retreat with loss to their ships. From Hispaniola, they directed themselves to Jamaica, which surrendered without a struggle, but never was regarded by the protector as a compensation for the loss of the larger island; and deeply did he resent the mismanagement of the expedition*.

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 578. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 504, *et seq.* Carte's Let. vol. ii. p. 46, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 386, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 621, *et seq.*

The Spaniards were dreadfully alarmed at these proceedings, which came unexpectedly upon them, though they complained with little justice of a breach of treaty, considering the perfidious part they had acted in regard to Ireland. They immediately declared war, and seized all the ships and goods belonging to the English, while they were so fortunate as to secure a rich fleet from Blake. This war, as it multiplied the necessities of Cromwell, seemed to afford a fit opportunity for calling a parliament, he conceiving that the people would be inclined to support him against a foreign enemy, and that, in doing so, they would confirm his power*.

Stable as seemed his authority when viewed at a distance, he was fully sensible of the faithless basis on which his power rested. With the alienation of the republicans, he lost that very character of popularity which had raised him, and he could not be ignorant that, though by balancing interests, he had hitherto sustained himself, it was impossible for him to act against the united wishes of the nation: but the clashing interests were, in the progress of time, likely to be subordinate to the desire of overturning him; and then certain was his destruction. The soldiery might be suppressed by the nation, and could not even be de-

* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 352, *et seq.* for a proof of the respect paid to Cromwell at the French court, &c. and the confirmation of the facts in the text. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 44, *et seq.*

pended on; for though, in the bustle of action, they might adhere to their general, it could not be expected that, in peace, they could remain unaffected by the common sentiments of the people at large; while, if they did render themselves mere tools for the support of an individual, they would excite universal execration against themselves, which they would endeavour to compensate, by demanding a share of the protector's power; and, scorning subordination, ultimately fall into a licentiousness, which would prove fatal to them all. The major-generals whom he had appointed over the twelve districts, deeming it absurd to exercise illegal authority, merely for the behoof of another, became so formidable to their employer, that he was no less anxious than any of the people to have them recalled. As he durst not of himself, however, enter on the invidious task, he required a parliament to perform it for him, and yet knew that he could not arrest that assembly at any definite line. His coffers, too, were empty; and a plan which he had formed, to grant, for a sum of money, an asylum in England to the foreign Jews, with a toleration of their religion, had been so abhorrent to the principles of the majority of the clergy, and the religious feelings of the nation, that he was obliged to abandon it*.

* Whitelocke, p. 631. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 308.
321. Orme's Life of Dr. Owen, p. 159-60.

Such was his situation when he found it necessary to convene a parliament; but as a free assembly could not be trusted, he was obliged to have recourse to all undue means to carry elections; and such a complicated game was he constrained to play, that, though one main object of the parliament was to reduce the major-generals, he was obliged to employ them to exert all their influence to have fit instruments, under the name of representatives, sent to Westminster. Even these unwarrantable measures failed; and he fell upon a new device, which struck at the very basis of freedom in that assembly. According to the pretensions of James, he, alleging that the writs being issued by chancery, and returnable to it, could only be judged of by that court, issued an order that none but such as carried a ticket from it, authorizing his seat, should be admitted to the house, and about a hundred were, in this way, rejected before the meeting*.

Third parliament.

On the 17th of September, 1656, the assembly met, and chose Sir Thomas Witherington as their speaker; but the excluded members having complained to the house, the clerk of chancery was ordered to attend, and give an explanation of the proceeding in regard to them. The clerk justified himself by the order of the council; and the councillors having been summoned to answer for their conduct, they alleged that, as, by a clause in

Meets,
17th Dec.
1656.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 556, *et seq.*

the instrument of government, none were to be allowed to serve in parliament but persons of known integrity, who feared God and were of good conversation, they had discharged their duty in refusing to approve of those who did not appear to answer the description, but that they had merely disapproved of them, and his highness had excluded them. Considering how that assembly had been packed, it is not wonderful that, in the absence of the hundred already excluded, a majority should have been found to pass a resolution, referring the case of the excluded members to the council; but it affords a noble proof of the spirit of Englishmen, that even this measure was only carried by a majority, and that sixty members instantly absented themselves, and joined those who had been excluded, when they published a remonstrance against the present arbitrary government, and a protestation against the illegal assembly at Westminster*.

After these purgations, the house was calculated for the business in hand: it passed a fresh act against the title of the exiled family, and another agreeable to Cromwell's ordinance, which made it high treason to attempt his life, while they unanimously resolved that the war with Spain had been undertaken on just and necessary grounds, and that they would support his highness in the prosecution of hostilities. On a motion, too, by

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 1, *et seq.* Cob. do. vol. iii. p. 1478, *et seq.*

his nephew Henry, and his son-in-law Claypole, the power of the major-generals was annihilated. Major-generals reduced. There was still, however, one step to be attained, which he flattered himself would cover his usurpation, and secure him and his family. Could he once reach the title of king, he had fondly imagined that the various parties, excepting those of the royalists who, having already so severely suffered, founded all their hopes on the restoration of the Stuarts, would submit to his authority; that matters having been thrown out of their usual channel by the attempt of the late king to overturn the constitution, and the exiled family having rendered themselves obnoxious by following their father's footsteps, against the rights and lives of Englishmen, the people would readily submit to a restoration of the old constitution under a new family, which, as it owed its power to public opinion, would be obliged to govern according to the national sentiment. In this view, however, it soon appeared that he was grossly deceived. Colonel Jephson, one of his creatures, first sounded the house, and then Alderman Pack, another of his creatures, presented a new instrument of government, by which the chief magistrate was Humble petition and advice. to be invested with all the royal prerogatives: A blank was indeed left for the title of the chief magistrate, but men easily perceived that Intention to make Cromwell king. that of king was intended; and such was the temper of the nation, that even this packed assembly was at first so enraged at the proposal,

that Pack was borne down tumultuously to the bar. This storm of resentment, however, having subsided, the majority, who were mere tools, entertained the motion. But other enemies arose: the major-generals, who resented their own loss of power, declaimed against conferring new honour on Cromwell, and were particularly enraged at the idea of perpetuating the authority in his family. Many other officers, even Lambert and Fleetwood, who had been so instrumental in raising him, joined them: the first had expected to be his successor, and naturally felt indignant at a measure which blasted all his hopes. The majority in the parliament, however, was disposed to humour Cromwell, and Lord Broghill, with some of the great lawyers, as Glynn, supported the debate in support of the measure. The instrument of government, therefore, called the humble petition and advice, was assented to with little alteration. The title had yet been left blank; and a second question arose on that head, when it was carried by the majority in favour of that of king.

When the offer of a diadem was made to Cromwell, he had too much policy to appear willing to accept of it, and he therefore pretended many scruples. But, in the meantime, he laboured to no purpose, to prevail with Lambert, Fleetwood, and the other chief officers, to support him in his pretensions. As he affected to refuse the crown, however, a committee was appointed to remove his scruples, and the lawyers, as best qualified for the office, were the individuals on whom the duty

of convincing him was chiefly devolved. They argued that the nation, having been for so many centuries under monarchical government, could not easily accommodate itself to the form of a republic; that it had, indeed, been necessary to oppose the unhallowed pretensions of the exiled family, and banish them as unworthy of the throne; but that there thence arose no reason for departing entirely from that constitution, under which, for so long a period, the people had enjoyed many invaluable privileges: That a restoration of monarchy appeared the most advisable way to compose the differences in the community, and to secure the general rights of the citizen; and that, as the only question which remained regarded the person, there could be little difficulty in the choice. Cromwell was fully aware of the advantages which seemed feasibly to flow from the arrangement; but he was also alive to the danger, and he wanted farther time to sound and gain instruments. If he accepted of the proffered crown, or evinced unequivocally a desire of it, a powerful party, which he depended on, at once fell off; if he decidedly refused, he might be, by the same men, taken at his word. In this predicament, where he was obliged to speak, and yet durst not commit himself either way by words, the speech he uttered is in a manner unintelligible; but though it was his object not to be understood, it was easy to discover his meaning, and many took the alarm; while Desborough, and his son-in-law Fleetwood, endea-

voured to rouse his fears by assuring him, that the tender of a crown, as it was an event desirable by the exiled family, so it was probably in part contrived by them, to ensnare him to his ruin. Cromwell pretended to droll with them, as if he were only anxious to gratify others and not himself. "It is but a feather in a man's cap," said he, "and let them enjoy their rattle." The officers, perceiving that he was bent on the measure, took a more decided step: They presented a petition to the house in the name of the military, in which they set forth, that they had hazarded their lives in fighting against monarchy, and were still ready to expose them for the public liberty: That in spite, however, of all that had been done, they had lately observed some men anxious to restore the old servitude, by urging their general to assume both the government and title of king; and that, as this course was equally fraught with his own ruin, and that of the supporters of public freedom, they prayed the house to discountenance all such measures, and the authors of them, as prejudicial to that cause for which they had undergone such danger, and were still willing to hazard their lives.—The petition appalled the usurper, and he instantly sent for his son-in-law, Fleetwood, whose opposition on this head was decided, and affected to expostulate with him for allowing such a petition to be presented, when he knew his previous determination to do nothing without the consent of the army; begging, at the same time, that he would use *his influence*

to prevent the petition from becoming a topic of debate. This being exactly what the other wanted, he forthwith went to the house, and informed them that, as they waited for the protector's answer to their message, there was no occasion to take the petition yet into consideration. A message from Cromwell opportunely followed this, desiring the house to meet him at Whitehall, where he quieted men's fears on that ground, by declining the crown with every shew of humility.

Cromwell
refuses the
crown.

Though foiled in regard to the title, he obtained the power of king, yet not without great opposition, particularly from Lambert and Sydney. According to the new settlement, the legislative power was vested in the parliament, and the power of excluding any member withdrawn from the protector; but a revenue of L.60,000 a month, for three months, was voted for the expense of the government; and he was authorized to establish an upper house of parliament, on the same principles with that abolished, and to nominate his own successor. According to this new instrument of government, he was, in Westminster-hall, inaugurated in the most pompous manner; when the parliament was for a season adjourned.

During the adjournment, he, in monarchical style, issued out writs for the upper house; but he was much embarrassed in his choice. On the one hand it was necessary to have men who, as devoted to him, could promote his views; and, on the other, his only chance of securing the good-will of those who carried weight with them in the lower

New
House of
Lords.

house, was by flattering their vanity by the distinction of sitting in the upper, and then he lost their services where they were most required. Seventy writs only were issued, for he durst not send more, and of these, eight (the Earls of Manchester, Mulgrave, and Warwick, Lord Say and Seal, Tewkesbury, Wharton, Howard, and Sir Arthur Hazlerig) refused to attend; but the most serious injury which he sustained was in the loss of the chief members, whom he had necessarily withdrawn from the lower house, where they were most needed.

When the parliament re-assembled, the excluded members, availing themselves of a clause in the instrument of government, against the protector's assumed right of excluding any representative of the people, took their seats, and expelled some who had been unjustly admitted: and now were a great majority, composed of talent and resolution, arrayed against the usurper. They brought the late settlement, as the work of a mutilated assembly under force, into question, and at once declared directly against the lawfulness of the upper house. In vain did he tell them that they should regard the upper house as a branch of the legislature, and give it the denomination of a house of peers: They treated his remonstrances with scorn, while a petition was carried through the city for parliament to resume the power of the sword. The timid were backward in signing the petition, from a dread of the soldiery; but, as they were assured that the military were similarly disposed, they every day became more decided.

Many plots were at this time formed against the protector. Harrison was busy, and the royalists caballed. The republicans could not properly act with the latter; but, as they did not apprehend much danger from them, they were willing that they should gather such strength as to form such a counterpoise to Cromwell as might afford themselves an opportunity to assert their own cause. But the cavaliers were, by habits of intemperance, partly the result of hope deferred, unfitted for any undertaking of importance, and their silly cabals, formed in taverns, and while they were under intoxication, being regularly announced to the executive, were easily crushed, and only served to strengthen it.

There was now a party ready to recal the Stuarts on terms, and prepared to act on certain conditions with the royalists; and it is singular that these were designated levellers. Sir Harry Vane had been imprisoned in Carisbrooke-castle for writing against the usurpation, and had only been liberated to be exposed to another mode of oppression,—that of having his title to part of his estate called in question—for the purpose of forcing him to compliance with the new system; but his active mind was still busied in the public cause. Martin, Sydney, and others, assisted by Harrington and the like, were intent on planning a form of commonwealth, which should be calculated to collect the voice of the people, and yet control the power of magistrates; and it is even said that some individuals had conspired to assassinate the

protector. His very guards were suspected, and he secretly kept watch himself. Such were the parties against him, and the commons in parliament, who were violent against the upper house, would most probably have proceeded farther against the usurpation, had not he prevented them by a hasty dissolution*.

Parliament
dissolved,
4th Feb.
1658.

Some of his friends, as Whitelocke and Fleetwood, strenuously dissuaded him from this purpose, reminding him that the late monarch had owed his fate to frequent breaches with parliament: But he had probably himself formed the justest estimate of his own situation. When, therefore, Fleetwood conjured him not to adopt that measure, he swore by the living God that they should sit no longer—language similar to that used by the late king at the beginning of his reign, and a me-

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 1, *et seq.* Cob. vol. iii. p. 147, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 376, *et seq.* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 281. Clar. vol. vi. p. 587, *et seq.* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 311. vol. vii. p. 269. Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 480, *et seq.* Journals. Whitelocke, p. 650, *et seq.* It was during the first session of this parliament that the case of James Naylor, the fanatic quaker, occurred, and was taken up by the house. Whitelocke informs us that he was thought by many to be too severely prosecuted by some rigid men. There was, however, this excuse for them, that their adversaries were ever ready to dwell on any extravagance of a fanatic, to bring odium on their whole proceedings; and to predict a universal inundation of schism, blasphemy, &c. &c. from the principles of toleration. It has been remarked, that, had Mr. Hume seen some of the accounts of this singular being, he might have enriched his ludicrous description. In some respects, however, he is mistaken. Naylor did not believe himself to be Christ, but imagined that Christ moved him to what he said or did. He was a man of some education, but never had followers, except amongst a small portion of the lowest and most illiterate of the people. See this case in Howell's State Trials. See Neal.

lancholy proof of the proneness of men enamoured of unjust power, to fall into the same language. On dissolving the assembly, he loaded it with the imputation of promoting the interests of Charles Stuart against the settlement of the commonwealth, and often appealed to God for the purity of his motives.

The dissolution occurred on the 4th of February, 1658; and, as he died on the third of September following, it happened just seven months before his death. Thus, to the credit of England, though the usurpation continued only five years, the usurper was obliged to call three successive assemblies,—which, considering the mode of election, it was a prostitution of the word to call parliaments—and yet he had not been able to prevail with one of these to sanction his assumed power. He, however, aimed only at establishing himself and his family in regal authority, according to constitutional principles; and, except under the commonwealth, the general laws in civil affairs had not, in the memory of man, been so equitably administered. The usurpation was in itself illegal; but Cromwell owed his continuance so long in power, not so much to the stern instrument of an army, as to the disunion of parties, and his dexterity in balancing them against each other; to the equal administration of the laws, to which the people were indebted for greater security in their persons and property, than under the Stuarts; and to his having overreached even wise men, in regard to his purpose of assisting them in the constitution

State of the nation and of the protector.

of a better government. All his expedients, however, were now nearly exhausted, and it is not improbable that, had his life been prolonged, he would have seen himself reduced from all his grandeur. Some eminent individuals had even refused to pay customs, and sued the collectors at common law for taking their goods in default of payment. Some of the judges were iniquitously displaced for deciding according to law; but though St. John, who had entwined his interest with the protector's, decided against the prosecutors, the public spirit, far from being subdued, daily rose higher, and all men were fully persuaded that the protector could not govern without parliaments. Fully aware of this, some of those who had been excluded in the late elections determined to prosecute the sheriffs for corruption; and one staunch republican, Henry Nevil, raised his action against the sheriff of Berkshire. When the trial came on, Nevil, who had employed some of the most eminent counsel, as Serjeant Maynard, (they were not afraid to plead a cause against the existing authority*,) judiciously summoned some of the most eminent assertors of public liberty to attend the trial. The cause came before Chief Justice St. John, and every objection that could be devised was started against the action; but they were all overruled, and the cause brought before a jury. The evidence having been adduced, the chief justice, in his address to the jury, expatiated

* Maynard and some others had, however, been imprisoned for pleading against Cromwell's usurped powers.

on the heinousness of the offence in a sheriff, the servant of his country, to presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased, to represent the people in parliament, the bulwark of public liberty; remarking that, if such practices prevailed, the people would be deprived of the hope of relief from grievances. The jury brought in a verdict of fifteen hundred pounds damages, and a hundred pounds fine to the commonwealth. An arrest of judgment was, however, afterwards granted till the next term; and, in the meantime, every art was used to prevail upon Nevil to abandon his action; but he remained inflexible; and the sheriff, to save his property, availed himself of the time granted by the arrest, to convey it out of the country. Nevil, however, had the judgment recorded as an example, and resolved to prosecute for the damage in every possible shape*.

Such was the state of the public mind in general; but even the military were not to be trusted; and his removing experienced officers and soldiers for others who, as not having felt their strength, were less formidable, only tended to diffuse throughout the country a body of men who, conscious of their aptitude for war, and consequently intrepid, were not only bolder in expressing their sentiments, but ready to join in measures against the power which offended them. Lambert was forced to retire on a pension of L.2000 a-year. Even his own regiment evinced a spirit that brought home to his

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 600, *et seq.*

bosom the instability of his fortune. Immediately after the dissolution of the late parliament, he summoned the officers before him, and demanded of them whether they would promise fidelity to the present government, and fight against its adversaries: They answered, that they would fight against Charles Stuart, and that interest; but that they would not engage to fight against they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. In consequence of this answer, he new-modelled the regiment. "By this, and other means," says Ludlow, "he lost the affections of great numbers of men, that would have been useful and faithful to him against the family of the late king *."

Conspir-
cies.

New dangers also arose: A body of what were called fifth monarchy men, to the number of about three hundred, raised a standard against him, with a lion couchant, and a motto, "who shall rouse him?" Such a petty insurrection, composed of tradesmen, was, however, only indicative of the general spirit of disaffection. They were apprehended, and confined for a considerable time. A party of commonwealth's men in London were also seized by the mayor's officers; but little could be proved against them, except the use of secret associations to deplore the apostacy of the times, particularly at Whitehall. Amongst these was a cornet Day, who was accused of having called Cromwell a rogue and a traitor. The prisoner, far from denying, boldly acknowledged the words, and of-

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 603, *et seq.*

ferred to prove, in his vindication, that he acted by the authority of the protector himself, as his highness had declared that, should he oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away titles, they should have liberty to call him by these opprobrious epithets. The cornet desired to adduce witnesses to prove the fact; but he and his associates were fined and imprisoned for their alleged misdemeanour. There had been another plot by some royalists, who were accused of a purpose to levy war against the government, to fire the city, and raise their adherents during the confusion, and to debauch the garrison at Hull by commissioners from Charles Stuart. The ringleaders, Dr. Huet, Mr. Mordaunt, and Sir Henry Slingsby, were tried by a high commission, authorized by the late parliament. Huet, insisting on a trial by jury, refused to plead, and was held as confessed; Mordaunt pleaded, and was acquitted by a casting voice; Sir Henry Slingsby was tried and condemned. The fate of the latter was lamented even by the republicans, who held that, as he was confined at the time, and a declared enemy to government, he ought not to have suffered for treason hatched in prison. It was farther alleged, that the very persons whom he was accused of attempting to corrupt, had trepanned him, by a promise to render Hull to the exiled king, provided Slingsby could procure a commission in his majesty's name; and that the one issued was an old one that had lain long about

him. On these grounds, though they could not be maintained in a court of law, it was thought that his life ought, in equity, to have been saved. But, in vindication of Cromwell, it may be argued, that he could have been condemned for the former insurrection. Both he and Huet were beheaded. It is said that Cromwell's daughter, Mrs. Claypole, pleaded earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Huet, and that his inexorableness on the occasion hastened her dissolution, which occurred soon afterwards. Some of the meaner conspirators were hanged *.

Cromwell still continued his system of courting and balancing the different parties: Some of the presbyterians he gratified with favours, and some of the old nobility he zealously courted. The Earl of Warwick's grandson was admitted a suitor to his youngest daughter; but the alliance not being agreeable to some of the persons about the court, the protector interdicted it. As, however, it was equally desired by the protector, the earl, and the young couple, Sir Edward Sydenham removed every difficulty by a clandestine marriage: For this he was forbid the court; but the service was too acceptable to admit of a lasting difference †.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 604, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi. p. 618, *et seq.* Thuroloze's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 781. vi. p. 13, *et seq.* vii. p. 3, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 673. This story, in regard to Mrs. Claypole, is denied on pretty plausible grounds by Mr. Cromwell in his memoirs of the protector. Whitelocke tells us that Huet behaved very imprudently at the trial.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 603-4.

Affairs in Ireland were not in a more prosperous condition for him, the army being as averse to his becoming king as their companions in arms at home. His son Henry, therefore, who had formerly courted the sectarian party, now endeavoured to gain the presbyterians. When, however, he desired them to join in an address to his father, to stand by and defend him against his enemies, they remarked that, if they knew who were meant by his enemies, they would return an answer; but as they knew neither who were his enemies, nor the principle on which he wished to engage them, they could not consent to his proposal. Considering the small dependence that is to be placed on adulatory addresses, such language was truly alarming*. The common council of London, however, in their addresses, gratified Cromwell to his utmost wishes, and they continued the same style of adulation to his son. When the restoration took place, they addressed similar language to Charles II., denouncing all that had been done, from the first meeting of the long parliament, villany and rebellion. Many causes contributed to bring about a change in public opinion, but the fact also proves that Cromwell and his successors had been expert in taking advantage of some defect in the constitution of the common council.

The protector was no less attentive to secure the fleet; and, aware of the unshaken firmness of Blake's republican principles, he was anxious to

State of the
Protector's
power in
Ireland.

Blake's ex-
ploits,
death, and
funeral.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 602.

diminish his influence, or even supersede him. For this purpose Colonels Montague and Desborough were joined in the new commission. The appointment of the latter was nominal, as he continued at home one of the commissioners for the navy. But Montague was sent to sea; and, as he was entirely subservient to the protector, men perceived that the object was to balance the interest of Blake in the affections of the sailors. The death of that naval hero quieted the protector's fears; and, says Ludlow sarcastically, "the loss of that great man was lamented by Cromwell much in the same manner as that of Ireton and General Dean had been*." This mention of Blake leads us to the recital of the last exploits of his life.

Having visited the coast of Portugal to water and victual his fleet, he heard of a rich Spanish fleet being on a homeward voyage, and he sailed to the Canaries to intercept it. The Spaniards took refuge in the bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. The bay was protected by a strong castle and seven forts, united by a land communication; and the Spanish admiral drew along the mouth of the harbour a strong boom, while he placed six galleons in readiness to pour a broadside on the assailants, and the smaller vessels directly under the forts. This situation was deemed perfectly secure; but Blake was not to be intimidated. With one squadron he himself attacked the galleons, while Stayner, with lighter vessels, entered the harbour.

The Spanish ships were burned, the batteries silenced; and, the wind proving favourable, the English came off with the loss of only forty-eight lives. It was on this occasion that the remark was made, that the English were devils, not men. This was the last exploit of Blake, who died, on his voyage home, of a scorbutic complaint.—To illustrate his character, we shall here relate a circumstance which occurred on the Spanish coast anterior to the war. Some of the sailors having gone ashore at Malaga, had, with the thoughtlessness peculiar to their class, laughed at the veneration paid to the host, when the multitude, instigated by one of the priests, fell upon them and beat them severely. On their return to the ship, they immediately complained to their admiral, who demanded reparation of the viceroy. He answered that he had no power over the priests: Blake replied that he would not trouble himself with inquiries on that subject, but intimated to him, as the temporal authority, that if satisfaction were not instantly made he would burn the town. The threat was effectual; the trembling priest was sent to apologize for his conduct. He excused himself on the ground that the sailors had provoked them by insulting the religion of a country they had entered. Blake was too wise and just to approve of their conduct, but he told the priest that the complaint ought to have been made to him, when he would have severely chastised the offenders; but he would have him and all the world know, that none should punish an Englishman but an Englishman. When this was reported to the

protector and his council, he, with that disposition which men at the head of affairs generally evince, to arrogate all the exploits of the age—a disposition in which they have been too generally supported by historians—exclaimed, that he would have the name of an Englishman as much respected as that of a Roman had ever been. Blake was magnificently buried in Henry VIIth's chapel; but though his character has been justly eulogized by the royalists, his body was not permitted to repose in the tomb, having been taken up and flung into a pit*.

Dunkirk
taken.

Cromwell having agreed with Cardinal Mazarine to assist the French government on land, 6000 men were sent to the Continent; and in a battle at Dunkirk, which led to the surrender of the town, they fully supported the English character. Dunkirk was given up to England, and was regarded by the protector, who appears to have indulged mighty ideas, as a most valuable acquisition†.

Cromwell's
last illness
and death.

We now return to a more particular account of Cromwell, whose health daily declined.—When, busy in his career of ambition, he had sought his present lofty preeminence, he had been blind to the dangers

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 600-2. Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 396-9. Biog. Brit. See Siècle de Louis XIV. ch. v.

+ Ludlow vol. ii. p. 560-2. Clar. vol. vi. p. 640, *et seq.* White-locke, p. 673. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 400, *et seq.* From the gallantry of the English troops on this occasion, I have no doubt that had Cromwell's army, with that intrepid leader at their head, been pitched against Turenne and Condé together, these captains would quickly have been deprived of their laurels.

that must necessarily attend his elevation. The enthusiasm that, in his better days—for it is to be hoped that he was corrupted by success, and not inherently vicious—had kindled the ardour of his own spirit, and diffused itself around him, making him brave every danger, was now stifled; because he found himself in a state of envied greatness, cut off from sympathy with his former comrades, tormented with jealousy of those he had trusted, detested by those who had started with him for the attainment of an honourable purpose, beset with dangers which threatened not only to degrade him from his unworthy situation, but to humble him and his family to destruction, and load his very memory with infamy, and bereft of expedients to conduct the machine of government much longer, while his hypocrisy stood unveiled, and he could neither advance nor retreat with safety. He had reason also to apprehend assassination, a species of danger to which the human nerves are least commensurate. The hazards of the field, where there is a call upon one's honour, every courageous mind can meet; but never to repose one's head without dread of the poignard, must appal the stoutest heart; and Cromwell's, with all its fortitude and bravery, was so far from being superior to it, that he is alleged to have worn concealed armour sometime before his death, and, for a short period also, never to have slept for two nights successively in the same chamber. Domestic afflictions hastened his dissolution. Amid all the active bustle of life, the fortunes of the field, and the dreams of ambition, Cromwell's

affections centered in the bosom of his family, and from affliction there fortune could not secure him. His mother, whom he loved with the tenderest filial piety, died subsequently to his usurpation, and his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, was taken from him this summer, while the manner of her death is said to have added infinitely to his distress; his inexorable refusal of the life of Dr. Huet having, it is alleged, broken her spirit. He never could overcome his grief at such a loss; and a complication of disorders, with care and distress of mind, terminated in his death on the third of September, 1658, the day of the year which, as the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he had ever accounted fortunate. As to his prayers, the conduct of his chaplains, and the manner of his death, they are little to be relied on*. There is some truth, however, in the following passages by Ludlow, that he “manifested so little remorse for having betrayed the public cause, and sacrificed it to his own ambition, that some of his last words rather became a mediator than a sinner, as he recommended to God the condition of the nation which he had so infamously cheated, and expressed great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised†.” A great hurricane occurred on the day of his death, which his admirers interpreted into a sign from heaven, that it could not take away so great a man without warning the nation of the loss it had sus-

* Orme's *Life of Dr. Owen*, p. 242.

† Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 612.

tained, and the royalists maintained to be a proof of heaven's wrath at so great a sinner.

He formally named no successor, aware that, in the event of his surviving, it would be injurious to his interest, since he could no longer delude his followers with the hope of being each the happy object of his choice *; but his secretary, Thurloe, his chaplain, Dr. John Goodwin, stated, that when, in his last moments, he was asked, whether he wished his eldest son to succeed him? he answered in the affirmative.

* Whitlocke, p. 674. Ludlow, vol. ii, p. 609, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi, p. 647, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 363, *et seq.*

Cromwell's interposition in behalf of the Vaudois, who, as protestants, were cruelly persecuted by the Duke of Savoy, has generally been extolled. He zealously promoted a subscription in favour of the sufferers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest Son, acknowledged Protector.—Summons a Parliament.—Cabal of Wallingford House.—Parliament dissolved.—Richard deposed.—Long Parliament restored.—Conspiracy of the Royalists.—Insurrection suppressed.—Parliament expelled the House.—Conduct of Moncke.—Parliament restored.—Resolutions of the City.—Moncke sent against it.—Enters London a second time, and declares for a free Parliament.—Secluded Members restored.—Long Parliament dissolved.—New Parliament.—The Restoration.

Richard
proclaimed.

THERE were, at the time Cromwell usurped the government, about half a million in the treasury, and the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in the magazines, while the customs and excise yielded near a million annually: at his death the pay of the troops was in arrears, and a public debt contracted of about three millions. All his expedients of government having been exhausted, and his finances in such a state, even he could not have long continued at the head of affairs. Little, therefore, was it to be expected that a feebler hand, unsupported by that glory which, after so many exploits, raised him to such estimation in the minds of men,

—should have been able to manage the reins which himself could not much longer have held. He had formally named no successor; but, as it was said that he had, when almost speechless, given an affirmative to a question, whether he wished his eldest son to succeed him, and as no other party was prepared to assume the power, Richard was proclaimed. For such a situation he was particularly unqualified: his abilities were slender; his knowledge of business extremely limited; and, never having been a soldier, he was incapable of controlling the military, while the splendour of his father's talents, which dazzled mankind, had shed no ray upon his son. Yet his succession to the protectorate was hailed with all the adulatory addresses usual on such occasions. Foreign ambassadors also paid him the respect which they had given to his father. The corpse of Oliver was magnificently entombed in the dormitory of kings, no less than about £60,000 having been expended on the funeral. But his body was not long permitted to rest in peace: with pitiful malignity, it was, at the Restoration, dug from the grave, exposed triumphantly on a gibbet, and buried under the gallows. At this period, however, a day of fasting and humiliation was appointed by the council, and afterwards ordered to be solemnized throughout the three nations, for the public calamity sustained by his death. Genius was racked for fulsome panegyrics on his memory; history, sacred and profane, ransacked for parallels of his greatness. He was compared to Moses, Jerubabel, Joshua,

Gideon, Elijah, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Constantine the Great, &c. ; but some of his panegyrists, men of high poetical genius, to the disgrace of splendid talent, were no less ready afterwards to eulogise his enemies who succeeded to him, and then traduce his name, as if they had been anxious to testify that their powers were at the service of the ruling authority, and that, in praising the person or party capable of rewarding them, they were merely labouring in their vocation *.

The late protector had entered into a league with the king of Sweden, to assist him against the king of Denmark; and, as the aid could only properly be given by sea, a large sum was required for the fleet. This multiplied the necessities of government, and as money could not be raised without a parliament, it was found necessary to summon one for January following. The late arrangement in regard to the representation, being better calculated to collect the general voice of the nation, was found to be unmanageable as an engine of state; and it was therefore deemed expedient to revert to the old state of the representation, that, in the hope which the executive entertained of influence over rotten boroughs, members might be returned disposed to promote its views. This was against the instrument of government; but a pretext is ever ready: there was

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 223, *et seq.* Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 498, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 611, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 675, 676. Clar. vol. vi. p. 655, *et seq.* Orme's Life of Owen, p. 198.

a clause in the humble petition and advice that every thing should be done according to law; and the protector's legal advisers assured him that it warranted his restoring the old state of the representation. Writs were accordingly issued on that ground, and all means exerted to procure the return of fit instruments for his purpose; but, in spite of every manner of undue influence and even direct unfairness, many of the republican party were elected. As the elections for Scotland and Ireland may be said to have been made at Whitehall, the members from those countries formed a valuable accession to the protector's adherents*.

The parliament met on the 27th of January, (1659) and Richard addressed them in a style ^{A parliament.} which did credit either to himself or those whom he had employed to frame the speech. On the 1st of February, a bill was brought in for the recognition of his power, and here the temper of the assembly was manifested: the humble petition and advice—the basis of this bill of recognition—was assailed by the republican party as the production of a packed meeting, where the Scotch and Irish members, protruded by the protector himself, were really the instruments of carrying the measure: it was denounced to be destructive to the liberty of the people, and every way pernicious; and the popular members argued that, as it was thus of no force or validity in itself, it could give the late protector no power to nominate a successor; but that,

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 615, *et seq.*

granting he had the power, it was evident that he had never exercised it in such a way as could be acknowledged by a legislative assembly. The debate lasted seven days, when that part of the bill—that Richard should be acknowledged protector, was finally carried; after which it was committed, in order that such additional clauses as might secure the liberties of the people might be devised. It was also resolved that no part of the bill should be obligatory, until, with all the amendments, it should be passed as a whole. Many of the cavaliers, who had been elected through Richard's influence, were expelled, and the right of the Scotch and Irish members was also called in question, but ultimately carried in their favour. The authority of the upper house was likewise impugned in the most powerful manner; but that point was also carried against the popular party*.

Richard was, in the meantime, sapping the very foundation of his own power. Instead of cleaving to his kinsman, Desborough, and all that party, as well as encouraging the popular side, while, like his father, he should promote the interests of religion, and thus gain the great body of the clergy, and with them a great portion of the people, he, assuming the feelings of a hereditary sovereign

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 611, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 262, *et seq.* See Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 412, *et seq.* Royalists were encouraged by Hyde and other counsellors to get themselves elected, that they might promote the king's interest. See particularly p. 436-468.

prince, and imagining that, as the influence of the republicans was immediately opposed to his, he had most to apprehend from them, and little comparatively from the cavaliers, whom, he flattered himself, the united interests of the protectorate party, the presbyterians and republicans, would never allow to restore the old dynasty—he courted the royalists as carrying farthest the principle of obedience to the chief magistrate, and affected to scoff at that zeal for religion to which his father had been indebted for so much of his success. “Would you,” said he publicly, to an officer who complained of his conferring commands in the army on cavaliers, “prefer none but those who are godly? Here is Dick Ingolsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all*.” His brother Henry had likewise fallen under the displeasure of the protestants in Ireland for similar conduct. This, however, was not the only source of jealousy and discontent to the army and the protector’s chief counsellors. Moncke had recommended, by a letter to Oliver, to new-model the army, and change the council: but Oliver had too much good sense to divulge a scheme which ought never to have been suspected till it was put in execution: Richard, however, ignorant of the world, could not keep so important a secret, and it necessarily diffused the utmost discontent and jealousy amongst those bodies. He soon found

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 633.

himself, therefore, surrounded with difficulties.

Cabal at
Walling-
ford-house.

The measures of the parliament alarmed him; the council also ministered cause of apprehension; while a cabal by his brother-in-law Fleetwood, called, from his place of residence, the cabal at Wallingford-house, was exceedingly active in measures hostile to his pretensions. In order to preserve the dependence of the military, Oliver had kept them in detached portions throughout the nation; but as Richard was now afraid of being deposed by the parliament, he easily yielded to an advice, by the Wallingford-house cabal, to allow a general council of officers to be summoned. No sooner did such a council meet than it felt its own strength, and entered into resolutions with the energy of an organized body: That the good old cause was betrayed; that the cavaliers were so encouraged that the Stuarts would be inevitably brought back; and that, therefore, the militia should be entrusted to some individual in whom they could all confide. A petition to this effect was drawn up, and presented to Richard, by whom it was communicated to the parliament. The latter immediately began to concert measures for reducing the army to obedience, when the council, still farther alarmed, and yet trusting to their own strength, insisted that Richard should immediately dissolve the parliament, as the only way to prevent a desertion of the military, as well as proceedings hostile to himself and his family, by that assembly itself. Surrounded on every side with difficulties,

Parliament
dissolved,
23d April,
1659.

Richard followed the advice by dissolving the parliament*.

Some of the leading officers were at first disposed to support Richard in his office, provided the power were shared with them; but the republican members of the army, who were still considerable, strenuously insisted upon the establishment of a commonwealth, and, for that purpose, upon the restoration of the old parliament, which, as by law it could only be dissolved by its own consent, still maintained that it was in existence. Petitions from various quarters were presented in favour of that measure; and many of the members themselves were exceedingly active. A list of about a hundred and sixty of them was prepared by Ludlow, that they might be immediately assembled; and the measure was so strenuously urged that it could no longer be resisted.—Richard, now perceiving his utter inability to continue his government, resigned his office, and retired to that private station from which he ought never to have been raised. This was the natural catastrophe; and Cromwell, for the sake of individual aggrandizement, which, had he not been blinded by ambition, he ought to have foreseen could never be perpetuated in his family, incurred all the guilt of losing a grand opportunity for promoting the interests of his country†.

Richard's resignation, and reflections on it. Long parliament restored. May 7.

* Whitelocke, p. 667. Clar. vol. vi. p. 657, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 631, *et seq.* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 339.

† Lud. vol. ii. p. 633, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 667. Clar. vol. vi. p. 660, *et seq.* Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 367.

In justice to his memory, however, it must be admitted, that the commonwealth party, with whom he so long acted, had never contemplated any scheme of government which could, in the nature of things, be attended either with stability, or sufficient security for the liberty of the people. That form of government can alone be relied on, where, by the very nature of the constitution, there exists such a control over those entrusted with the administration of affairs, as to oblige them to co-operate for the public good, or leave their office. Now, as the utmost which was contemplated by the popular men of that age was to govern by successive parliaments, so elected that the deputies might be really returned by the people, and of such limited duration that the members might not be induced to forfeit a character for popularity by neglecting the public, for their private interest, it will be found that, however plausible the scheme may appear at first sight, it cannot bear the test of examination. Once elected, the parliament found itself invested not only with the supreme power, but with the disposal of all the offices. Short as might be the period assigned it, the members had yet an interest to aspire to office, and provide for their friends; for, though many might spurn at the idea of abusing their trust, yet as the experience of mankind in all ages has proved that bodies of men are no less capable of dereliction of duty than individuals, and as good laws provide against what men may, and not what they actually, do, we must assume the most unfavourable

view of things as the basis of our reasoning. The assembly might be rent into factions for place and preeminence, and each try to strengthen then his interest with the public against a new election. All who obtained, or expected office from the party that, having the superiority, may be called the ministerial faction, would labour for them on the one side; while the friends of the defeated party would be no less loud on the other. The country would therefore be agitated by the factions in parliament; and in a short period there would be found some excuse, in the uproar at elections, in a foreign war, the vigorous prosecution of which required a continuance, without prospect of change, of the men who had already performed such meritorious services for their country—in the dread of an insurrection at home, or in some other cause—for prolonging the parliament, which, as the supreme power, such an assembly would assume the right to accomplish. It would not even prevent this, that a law had been provided for periodical elections, and that the new members might, by force of such a law, supersede the old. The assembly in existence having prohibited this by a new statute, and organized the military and all the offices as subservient to them, while they had necessarily, by all the influence of government, obtained the support of a powerful party throughout the nation, could easily take effectual means for the obstruction of an act which was now repealed by another likewise made by the supreme power.

This was well expressed by Oliver himself, in favour of his own usurpation, and, as it presents a fresh specimen of his oratory, we shall give it in his own words. "In every government there must be something fundamental, somewhat like a *magna charta*, that should be standing and be unalterable. That parliaments should not make themselves perpetual, is a fundamental. Of what assurance is a law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in one or the same legislature to unlaw it again? Is this like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand: it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built*." It is true that public opinion would have a great influence over the parliament; but this would be counteracted by the emissaries of the party in power, and by the plausibility of their pretexts for allowing the present necessity to induce them to submit to a temporary deviation from the established rule; while the only opposition that could be brought would be attended with a national convulsion. The rule once deviated from would no longer be regarded as a fundamental principle of the government; and then the members would be left at large to pursue their own plans of ambition; factions would grow, each aiming at the supremacy; open disgraceful broils would ensue; the defeated faction would denounce the rest as combined against the public interest, and violating all the constitutional principles; each would strive to ob-

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 362-3.

tain the command of all the civil and military departments; the public would become generally disgusted, and as some factions would probably be expelled for a violent and even inexcusable opposition to the rest, the number left would be ultimately so diminutive and hated, that it would be no difficult matter for the chief military commander to persuade an indignant people that, in dissolving such an assembly, he was only overthrowing a set of usurpers, who, entrusted for a limited period with the management of affairs, had abused the public confidence by perpetuating their power, and whom it was necessary therefore to overturn: That he could not be accused of destroying the power from which his own authority had emanated, since the assembly ought to be the organ of the public voice, and not pretend to act for its own behoof;—since he obtained his command from them as trustees for the people, and he had only overturned that body when they forgot their character, and converted the trust to their own benefit;—a result which called upon him, as the mere servant of the public, and not of the parliament, who were factors for the people, to obey the voice of the nation out of doors, when it was no longer to be heard within. Such was the natural course of events, and thus might power centre in an individual from whom it could not easily be wrested when once obtained. The long parliament, with all its talent and virtue, had incurred the reproach, and with it the catastrophe; and though Cromwell's dissimulation and hypocrisy were palpable, some excuse

may be formed for him, while a great part of the people, who were attached to liberal principles, had lost confidence in the parliament, as a body which sought its own aggrandizement.

State of
parties.

Cromwell's usurpation alienated from the republican cause, and prepared for the restoration of the Stuarts, many who saw that power in an individual would be established. Obligated to indulge his soldiery, too, he had not been able to restrain them from the licentiousness incident to troops who feel their own strength; and the country, vexed with their petty oppression, began to desire any arrangement which might free them from the present evil. The presbyterian party, flattering itself that, in the event of the Stuarts being restored, they would find it necessary to entrust them with the power, in order to prevent them from forming a coalition with the republicans, and thus enable them to bear the whole sway, strenuously urged it on*. Strong, therefore, was the party of the people which the restored parliament must have had to contend with; and Lenthall, the old speaker, who apprehended that the parliament never could recover its power, and was unwilling to part with the honour conferred upon him by the late protector, of a seat in the upper house, pretended many scruples to

* See Clar. Papers, vol. iii. The reader will there find that the party called levellers proposed to be satisfied with a limited monarchy. See also Hist. vol. vi. p. 636.

taking his place as prolocutor of this assembly. Driven to his last shifts, he stated that he was obliged to prepare for a matter of greater importance to him than all others put together; and, when pressed to explain the nature of the business, he reluctantly answered, that it was the sacrament; but he was told, that mercy was better than sacrifice, and obliged to resume his function*.

It cannot be denied that the parliament, under the most appalling circumstances, evinced its former vigour in the conduct of affairs. But the first cause of fear was from the army, which it was therefore necessary to reduce to obedience without provoking its leaders. A council of state was immediately nominated, in the constitution of which care was taken to gratify the chief officers with seats, and yet to give to the civilians the superiority of votes. All commissions to the army were ordered to run in the name of the house; and a committee of seven was nominated to fill up the vacancies in the commands, when Fleetwood was appointed lieutenant-general, but only during the pleasure of the house. The resolutions against the dominion of an individual were resumed; the old seal was restored, and committed to Bradshaw, Tyrrel, and Fountain; while all the writs were ordered to run in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England. The army every where professed obedience, and addresses poured in encou-

Measures of
the long par-
liament.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 644, *et seq.*

raging the parliament in the prosecution of the work. Ludlow was sent to Ireland to take the command from Henry Cromwell, and make such a disposition in the offices as might secure the army there; and the ardent professions of Moncke and the troops under him were sufficient to remove suspicion of Scotland; they declared "that the restoration, in one day, of that glorious cause, whose interest was laid low, even in the dust, and when the assertors of it had so manifestly declined it by a defection of many years, could not be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful manifestation of the arm of God that ever they or former generations heard of. In the sense of this," say they, "the greatest of our temporal mercies, we now come to address your honours as those whose presence we have so long wanted, that, had you stayed but a little longer, it might have been left to be inquired what England was, we mean, what was become of that people by whom God, for so many years, filled the world with so much admiration and terror *." Moncke's chaplains and panegyrists, who, there is reason to believe, assisted in drawing this very address, labour to make it appear for the glory of Moncke, that he was favourably inclined towards the insurrection under Sir George Booth and his party in England, for the overthrow of the object

* Whitelocke, p. 678-9. Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 414, *et seq.* See the most canting letter ever penned, by Moncke and his officers, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 669.

which he thus mocked the Deity by pretending to have so deeply at heart*.

The parliament also made a peace with the northern powers. Sweden, by the alliance with Cromwell, threatened the subjugation of Denmark, when Richard's parliament interposed to mediate a peace. But, as the mediation was not imperative, it was neglected, and the Swedish king besieged Copenhagen itself. The long parliament, now restored, however, assumed a higher ground, and co-operating with the Dutch, sent Montague with a fleet, attended with Col. Algernon Sydney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and a Mr. Boon, as commissioners. The terms of peace previously agreed on by the two republics were imposed on the unwilling Swede, "*who complained that commonwealths should form conditions to be imposed on crowned heads*†."

While matters were in this train, the army at home was agitated with that factious spirit which was from past transactions to have been anticipated. Fleetwood is said to have been reproached by his wife with the overthrow of her family, and instigated to amend the fault by assuming authority in his own person. Lambert, who had for

Peace between Sweden and Denmark, &c.

Cabals in the army.

* Price, p. 4, *et seq.* Gumble, p. 101, *et seq.* See Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 691-2.

† Carte's Let. vol. ii. p. 187, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 680, *et seq.* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 667-8. Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 505, *et seq.* I am not aware of Mr. Hume's authority for the speech attributed by him to the Swedish king, that parricides and pedlars prescribed terms to him, nor does it do the monarch much credit. Carte's Let. vol. ii. p. 137, *et seq.*

Conspiracy
of the Ca-
valiers.

some time lived in retirement, now came from his retreat, in hopes of obtaining that power which he had originally looked to. A new enemy also arose. The cavaliers, during the life of Cromwell, had fondly flattered themselves that his reign presented the only barrier to the restoration of the Stuarts; but, when they perceived that the old parliament was resuming its functions, they inferred that, unless by some preventive stroke they recovered the power before the commonwealth was established, the opportunity would be for ever lost. In their measures they were encouraged by some of the presbyterians, who imagined that they might use them as instruments, and cast them off in the hour of triumph. The conspirators had resolved to rise in various quarters at once: Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townsend, undertook to seize Lynne; Lord Newport to secure Shrewsbury; Arundel and others, Plymouth and Exeter; Massey, Gloucester; Sir George Booth, Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton, North Wales. The king, along with the Duke of York, having received a promise of a small force from the French court, secretly went to Calais in order to be prepared to transport himself into England, on the first favourable opportunity. The design, however, was betrayed by Sir Richard Willis, and many of the chief conspirators were immediately apprehended. The treason of Willis to his fellow-conspirators, with the prompt measures of parliament, bereaved the great body of confidence in each other, and struck them with despair. Many there-

fore availed themselves of the pretext afforded by the state of the weather, which, though it was the month of July, was extremely tempestuous, for not attending the rendezvous, and the party under Sir George Booth was alone enabled to take the field. Booth seized Chester; Middleton joined him with some troops from North Wales, and the Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and others, were partly leagued in the enterprise. Booth was a presbyterian; and it is remarkable that he did not proclaim the king, but merely called for a free parliament duly elected. This was alleged by the parliamentary party to be a mere device to rouse the presbyterians; but it evinces the feelings of the times.

Insurrec-
tion under
Booth sup-
pressed.

Against the insurgents parliament sent Lambert, whose celerity was worthy of his military character. His adversaries did not stand the first shock. Their horse, consisting of seventeen or eighteen hundred, of whom one-half are reported to have been gentlemen, fled before they were charged, and left the foot to be cut to pieces. Such a result put an end to all the hopes of the royalists to succeed by arms, particularly as the militia had been remarkably active against them; but divisions among the victors effected what could not otherwise have been accomplished*.

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 654, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 681, *et seq.* Clar. vol. vi. p. 667, *et seq.* State Papers, vol. iii. Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 435, *et seq.* Bramhall, Ex-bishop of Derby, whom a certain ecclesiastical party held up to the admiration of men, though another party represented him in a very different light, (See Baillie's answer to the fair warning,) did not entirely lose hope on this catastrophe. He confesses that

Lambert.

Of Lambert the parliament had just cause to be jealous; but it conceived that the most likely mode to retain him in obedience was kindness, and, therefore, voted him a thousand pounds to buy a ring, as a reward for his present services: But, intoxicated with success, he resolved to lose no time in promoting his own designs. Instead of employing the money on the object for which it was bestowed, he distributed it among the soldiers

he had been ashamed to walk the street (of Brussels) or to go into company after it, "but," says he, "it is the duty of good citizens never to despair of the commonwealth; no, not after as great a blow as that of Cannæ." He then alludes to the peace concluded by the Northern powers, and proceeds thus: "The other relation is of a child born in London, about three months since, with a double tongue, or divided tongue, which the third day after it was born cried, *a king, a king*, and bid them *bring it to the king*. The mother of the child saith it told her of all that happened in England since, and much more, which she dare not utter. This my lady of Inchiquin writeth to her aunt, *the Brow van Milleswarde*, living in this city, who shewed me the letter. My Lady writeth, that she herself was as incredulous as any person, until she both saw and heard it speak herself, very lately, as distinctly as she herself could do, and so loud, that all the room heard it. That which she heard was this: A gentleman in the company took the child in his arms, and gave it money; and asked what it would do with it; to which it answered aloud, that it would give it to the king. If my lady were so foolish to be deceived, or had not been an eye or ear witness herself, I might have disputed it: But giving credit to her, I cannot esteem it less than a miracle." Carte's Let. vol. ii. p. 207-8. Price tells of many predictions announced to Monck regarding the glorious work he was to perform, which I believe as much as great part of his, and the statements of the other biographers of Monck. But these are all better attested than the strange tales which are narrated by Hume, of the wonderful effects which were produced on people first by the execution of Charles I. and then by the restoration of his son. Men, forsooth, particularly a mathematician, (one would expect philosophical calmness from such a person,) expired with joy at the restoration, as some had done with grief at the execution of the father.—Id. p. 194, *et seq.*

to secure their interest. Colleguing also with the other officers, he set on foot a petition to the parliament in the name of the soldiery, desiring that Fleetwood should be appointed general, himself major-general, Desborough, lieutenant-general of the horse, and Moncke major-general of the foot :— that corporations, which had abetted the late designs, should be punished, and the constitution of their magistracy be changed into a form becoming a commonwealth ; and that the government of the state should be entrusted to a new representative and a select senate, by which last they meant a body who should not be removeable, and of which doubtless themselves should be the leaders. When this petition was presented, the parliament was in a flame, and Sir Arthur Hazlerig, who was now one of the principal members, and naturally of an impetuous temper, while he relied much on the Scottish army under Moncke, proposed to impeach Lambert of high treason. The house, however, did not deem it prudent to proceed so far at such a juncture, though a purpose was formed of apprehending that individual, and sending him to the tower : It yet resolved, that it was useless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth, to have any more general officers than those already settled by the parliament, and that the militia should be transferred to the command of a committee of seven : It also voted it to be high treason to levy money without an act of parliament. But resolutions were feeble when opposed to the sword. Lambert collected forces, determined to expel the members from the house, and they in vain tried to

The parliament expelled.
13th Sept.

form a counterpoise. Two regiments, indeed, proposed to support the parliament, and stationed themselves for that purpose, in palace-yard; but Lambert having lined the streets with a superior body, intercepted the speaker and the members, and respectfully turned back their coaches. The two regiments found that they had occupied their station in vain, and quietly marched off*.

The government was thus again transferred to the military, and the people's hopes of obtaining a lasting settlement under the parliament—hopes which the late events had encouraged—were now for ever blighted. The officers, while they appointed a committee of safety, spoke of calling a parliament; but it is said that, under the name of a parliament, they only intended to congregate an assembly of officers to promote their usurpation. Their folly was egregious. They themselves were not united; the soldiers, feeling that the army had fairly obtained the superiority, became still more licentious, and provoked the people into a belief that no change which could free them from the insolence of such a body was to be deprecated. A change, however, was not far distant, and it proceeded from Moncke, who had the command of the army in Scotland.

Moncke.

This individual was descended of a good family, but

* Carte's Let. vol. ii. p. 225, *et seq.* See Clar. State Papers; vol. iii. p. 579, *et seq.* It would appear that Fleetwood was carried by the current against his own will, as he really desired to oppose Lambert. Hist. vol. vi. p. 691, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 683, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 698, *et seq.* Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 460, *et seq.*

of reduced circumstances, in Devonshire. He had served as a private in the expedition to Cadiz, and also accompanied the Duke of Buckingham in the expedition to the isle of Rhée. England, after this, remained in profound peace for many years, and Moncke sought employment in the Low Countries, as ensign in a small regiment, which Lord Vere transferred the command of to Colonel Goring. Some misunderstanding, however, took place betwixt him and the Dutch, and he returned to his native country about the time of the breaking out of the Scotch troubles, in order that he might obtain employment in the expedition against that part of the British dominions. When troops were sent against the Irish rebels, Moncke was, by the parliament, appointed to the command of a regiment; but he soon became one of those who, forgetting the principles on which they were entrusted with command, entered into the project of assisting the king against the parliament and liberties of Britain. His conduct, however, was so equivocal to the party for whose sake he was now ready to betray the authority that had appointed him, and the principles on which he had embarked in the expedition, that the Marquis of Ormonde himself suspected that he intended a second treachery, and, having secured the other officers fast to the royal interest, he divested Moncke of his command. On this he went to the king, who was then at Oxford, to vindicate his conduct, and so removed suspicion that he was again employed. Nothing memorable, however, was per-

formed by him then: indeed, the miserable appearance which those regiments made at Nantwich, where the whole body were at once routed by Fairfax, would induce us to believe that Moncke was indebted to Cromwell for his subsequent abilities as a general officer*. Taken a prisoner on that occasion, he was sent to the tower, where he lay for two years. After the termination of the war, he was, by Lord Lisle, Lieutenant of Ireland, employed in the parliament service against the rebels there. This led to his appointment by the parliament to the command of the forces in the north of that island. But a cessation of hostilities, which he made with Owen Rowe O'Neale, and attributed to necessity in consequence of the desertion of the Scottish regiments, provoked fresh displeasure against him. Cromwell, however, who found excuses for withholding commands to such as Algernon Sidney, supported Moncke. When Charles II. entered Scotland, and the English parliament sent Cromwell against him, Moncke, who now pretended to be smitten with an ardour for liberty, volunteered his services.

Some excuse might be formed, though, under all circumstances, it must be confessed, that it would be an inadequate one, for a royalist who, bred to the profession of arms, and depending on a military life for subsistence, accepted of

* Moncke was, properly speaking, an excellent soldier. But he never exhibited the talents of a great general. His abilities were most signally displayed at sea; but even there he was a successful imitator, not an inventive genius. The impudence of his chaplain, Gumble, in ascribing to him the victory at Dunbar, is extreme. See p. 39.

employment from the parliament, against the Irish; but, unless he had changed his principles, it is impossible to figure an apology for his volunteering his services against the son of his late king, whom, upon such principles, he was bound to assist in recovering the throne. Cromwell carried him with him to Scotland, and appointed him one of his colonels; yet it was not without difficulty that the soldiery, who remembered his former history, could be reconciled to his nomination*. But he was a good soldier, and Cromwell, who knew that he would be faithful so long as he believed it to be for his own interest, continued him in the command, while he took care to balance his influence by men of a different description, that one might be a spy upon the proceedings of the other. Having few of the sympathies of humanity, the disposition of Monke was reserved, cool, calculating, avaricious, and, on occasions, cruel and unrelenting, without those passions of revenge and indignation that commonly transport men into excesses. Of this, some of his exploits in Scotland, particularly at Dundee, afford a melancholy proof. In certain respects he did not act with that regard to decency which distinguished the other officers. He married a worthless woman of low rank, who had a family to him, in order to legitimate the children†; and, it is alleged, that he en-

* See Hodgson's *Memoirs* as to this.

† *Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 470. The writer of the letter says, "our Admiral Moncke hath lately declared an ugly common whore his wife, and legitimated three or four bastards he hath had by her during his growth in grace and saintship."

deavoured to rouse a naturally phlegmatic temper by wine *.

After the death of Oliver he professed attachment to his son †, though he listened with no displeasure to the remarks of his officers, that he was fitter for the office than Dick Cromwell; but no sooner was the long parliament restored, than, with the most solemn imprecations, he declared his entire obedience to it and attachment to its cause; yet there is some reason to believe that he was at least not displeased with the insurrection of Sir George Booth, and had some latent purpose of declaring for the presbyterian interest: But there is no ground for presuming that he had the slightest intention to restore the exiled family. When Booth was taken, and the whole design failed, he abandoned all thought of promoting that interest, and threatened the ruin of one of the king's emissaries if he dared to impute his ever having favoured it. When the parliament was a second time expelled, he determined no longer to be idle, but he continued his professions to the members on the one hand, while he tried to gain the presbyterians on the other. To no man did he ever express his intention of restoring the exiled family, nor, from all his conduct, are we entitled to infer that he ever entertained it till the course of

* Clar. Papers, vol. iii. p. 622.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 397. 404. 411. 435. Let any one read his letters, &c., and he will find that he could cant with any man living.

events naturally led him into such a measure. But he had originally served the king, and suffered as one of his adherents; many of his relations had been of that party, and as he was known to have had a rivalry with Lambert, great offers had been repeatedly made to him, if he would bring over his army to the royal interest. This, however, he felt to be altogether beyond his power during the life of Cromwell: great part of the soldiery, and almost all the officers, being of an opposite interest, would have spurned at the idea; the others who were associated with him in the administration of Scottish affairs would have hailed the opportunity of humbling him; and, as Cromwell could not have been many days ignorant of the attempt, he would probably have been sent a prisoner to England. Now, however, he determined to oppose Lambert; and the cavaliers, since the divisions of their enemies were the most desirable event, were naturally inspired with hope from such an occurrence. The presbyterians in Scotland, as well as in England, could not fail also to be pleased at such an event, and as, while, on the one hand, Lambert and his coadjutors enraged part of his officers, by attempting to displace them, he not only retained those, but began to new-model his army, by dismissing as many of the sectarian officers and soldiery as he conveniently could, and encouraged the presbyterians,—a general idea prevailed amongst that body, not only in Scotland, but throughout England, that he meant to favour their interest. The

party who had obtained the power in England, jealous of him, sent down Colonel Cobbett to counteract his influence with the troops, but he had prepared matters so well as to be enabled to take advantage of the authority which had been devolved upon him by parliament, to arrest Cobbett in the execution of his scheme, while he daily organized the army to qualify it for the part which he intended it to act, and at the same time continued his protestations that he meant nothing more than to restore the parliament, that it might establish a pure republic. He also sent letters to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall, in which he condemned the conduct of the army, and professed a resolution to stand by the parliament, and, with the last drop of his blood, prosecute their just cause which God had particularly owned,—calling heaven to witness that he had no farther ends than the establishment of parliamentary authority, the settlement of the nation in a free commonwealth, and the defence of godliness and godly men, though of different opinions. Every day he strengthened his power, each party believing that he would be instrumental in promoting their views; but, while he declared he had received a call from heaven and earth to settle the government, he, with solemn imprecations, continued his professions to the parliament and the commonwealth. Alarmed by his measures, Lambert determined to march against him; and could that officer have raised the necessary supplies, he might at once have reduced him to obedience; but the

Lambert
marches to
the borders
to suppress
Moncke.

treasury was exhausted, the pay of the army was in great arrear; the people, disgusted at the lawless proceedings of the military, determined to obey the injunction of parliament not to pay taxes, and were roused to still greater indignation by the attempt to levy impositions by force, and to live at free quarters: The soldiers themselves, acting upon the principle taught them, to disobey authority, fell off from their leaders: Lawson, who had been sent by the parliament to supersede Montague (who was suspected of favouring Booth's enterprise) in the command of the fleet, steadily declared for the power that appointed him, and entered the Thames: Hazlerig and Morley obtained possession of Portsmouth; and when Lambert marched with an army in which he could not confide, towards Scotland, the regiments in the city returned to their obedience to the parliament, and Desborough's, which was sent against them, joined those it was ordered to oppose. The same part was acted by the troops that were dispatched against Hazlerig and Morley, who marched into the capital*.

Moncke, afraid of being unable to cope with the army in England, dispatched three of his officers, Cloberry, Wilkes, and Knight, to compromise matters with them: These entered into an agreement, that the government should be settled

Moncke's
negociation
with Lam-
bert, &c.

* Gumble's *Life of Moncke*, Price, *Clar.* vol. vi. p. 696, and particularly *State Papers*, vol. iii. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 728, *et seq.* Skinner's *Life of Moncke*, *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 14, *et seq.* MS. Brit. Mus. Ays. 1519, No. 173, 4157, No. 201.

in a commonwealth, without a king, or other single person, or a house of lords: That a parliament should be called as speedily as possible, and, in the meantime, that the military officers should determine on the qualifications of the electors; that there should be a general indemnity for the past; and that he should have part of the money which had been destined for the troops, and be himself appointed one of the committee for nominating military officers. But, ere the terms could be announced to him, the aspect of affairs had become so favourable to his views, that, alleging his commissioners had exceeded their powers, he refused to confirm the treaty. It was now the depth of winter, and Lambert, with an army indignant at want of pay, and destitute of supplies, advanced towards Newcastle. It has been thought that, had he resolutely continued his march, he might still have crushed Moncke; but, in a falling cause, every step is condemned as injudicious. Lambert had seen the effect of a campaign in Scotland under Cromwell; the Scots, he knew, were ready to join with any side against the sectaries, and the disaffection of the troops was such, that probably, had he proposed to transport them to that country at such a season, they would have revolted. Fairfax had raised a party against him in Yorkshire, and thus interposed between him and the south, whence, as matters were there in a still more unpromising situation, he could not with prudence be long absent. Under these circumstances he negotiated, and Moncke, whose object

was to gain time, amused him with the hope of an amicable adjustment of their differences. That general, too, continued his troops at the borders, and having, by his deep dissimulation, raised high the hopes of the Scots, a convention of estates, which he summoned, granted him a timely supply of money, and proposed to assist him with 20,000 men; but he, having a different game to play, declined the offer as yet uncalled for by the exigencies of the times; though he intimated that, in the event of necessity, he would accept of it, and that, if overpowered by numbers, he would retreat to Stirling.

Lambert's army, in the meantime, destitute of pay and the necessaries of life, became perfectly unruly: part deserted, and, on the approach of Moncke, the remainder left him in a body. Moncke carried with him about 7000 horse and foot, having left a part of his troops in Scotland to keep that country in subjection—a striking proof of the deep nature of his designs, since that country was now generally disposed to restore the king on terms. As Lambert's force now declared for the parliament, and joined Moncke, he proceeded south at the head of a considerable army, making at every step the most solemn professions for the commonwealth. Hazlerig was his great encourager, and he is severely censured by his own party for having been so easily deceived: but whoever will attend to the imprecations which Moncke made on himself and his family if he did not prove true to the cause of the republic, will

not be so much surprised at Hazlerig's simplicity*.

Fairfax.

Lord Fairfax now desired the restoration of the exiled king; but he had not, on that account, altogether forgotten his principles. No plan of government that had yet been suggested, in the form of a commonwealth, could promise stability or security, and amid so many clashing interests, and the usurpations of the military, such a constitution was not likely to be established. The restoration of the Stuarts, therefore, might justly appear to be the only practicable way, in the present posture of affairs, of obtaining a permanent settlement: And it might naturally be supposed, that if Charles were restored upon conditions required by the public safety, he would be deterred by the example of his father from similar attempts to violate the laws. Fairfax was now attached to the presbyterian interest; though, from his past conduct, (he was formerly an independent,) we may fairly presume, that he desired it to be accompa-

* Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 628, *et seq.* In a letter to Hazlerig, dated 14th February, 1659-60, Moncke says, "As for a commonwealth, believe me, Sir, *for I speak it in the presence of God*, it is the desire of my soul; and shall (the Lord assisting) be witnessed by the actions of my life, that these nations be so settled in a free state without a king, single person, or house of peers, that they may be governed by their representatives successively; and seeing this is your principles also, or at least so held forth by you, I hope there will be no clashing betwixt us." Ibid. p. 678-9. Hist. vol. vi. p. 102, *et seq.* Baillie's Let. vol. ii. p. 437, *et seq.* Nichol's Diary, MS. Price. Gunble. Skinner. Whitelocke, p. 686. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 732, *et seq.* Carte's Let. vol. ii. p. 245, *et seq.*

nied with toleration. It is not unlikely, however, that private interests operated in no inconsiderable degree upon his mind. The Duke of Buckingham, one of the royal favourites, had lately married his daughter, and the imprisonment of that individual by the parliament, on suspicion, was expected by the royalists to exasperate the father-in-law, whom the alliance was supposed to incline to the interest of his son-in-law *.

Such was the conduct of Fairfax; and had Moncke proposed to restore the Stuarts upon any conditions compatible with the safety of his former associates, and regard to the interests of the kingdom, he would have deserved the thanks of his countrymen and of posterity: but, instead of this, he continued ardent professions for a commonwealth, with an apparent view of usurping the government; and when, in the course of events, he found himself foiled in that, and perceived the instability of his own fortune, he, to raise himself by the assistance of the exiled family and their adherents, surrendered the kingdom unconditionally, and not only sacrificed his former friends, whose principles he had professed, with imprecations of divine vengeance if he deserted them, but coolly sat as a judge upon his late associates, for conduct which he had affected so zealously to admire. Fairfax, conceiving that he meant to restore the monarchy, had an interview with him in Yorkshire. Moncke did not wish to lose that interest, and tried to

* Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. see particularly, p. 660.

shelter himself behind his usual reserve; but when Fairfax discovered him to be a person so very different from what he had anticipated him to be, he left him in disgust*.

Whitelocke
urges Fleet-
wood to re-
store the ex-
iled king.

At this critical juncture the design of Moncke, in spite of all his oaths and protestations, was, by Whitelocke and men of his stamp, who perceived that that general could not otherwise make his fortune, believed to be the restoration of the exiled family without conditions. Lord Willoughby, Alderman Robinson, Major-General Browne, Mr. Loe, and others, went to Whitelocke, and while they confirmed his suspicion, proposed to him to go to Fleetwood, and advise him to send immediately to the king at Breda, with an offer to restore him upon good terms, and thereby anticipate Moncke. Whitelocke went directly to Fleetwood, and having stated by whose recommendation he came, strenuously urged that general not to lose the moment of action. He argued, that it was more than evident that Moncke's design was to bring in the king, without any terms for the parliament party, whereby all their lives and fortunes would be at the mercy of the monarch and his adherents, who were incensed against them, "and in need of repairing their broken fortunes." That as the inclinations of the presbyterian party generally, and of the city, were for the restoration, as the incensed lords, and excluded members of the

* See Lives of Moncke, Clar. vol. vi. p. 709. Moncke also wrote to the West with protestations. Parl. Hist. vol. xxii.

parliament were exceedingly active for that measure, and as Moncke would easily delude Hazlerig and the rest of the old parliament men, the coming "in of the king was unavoidable, and that it was more prudent for Fleetwood and his friends to be the instrument of bringing him in, than to leave it to Moncke: That by this means Fleetwood might make terms with the king, for preservation of himself and his friends, and of that cause, in a good measure, in which they had been engaged; but if it were left to Moncke, they, and all that had been done, would be left to the danger of destruction." Whitelocke, therefore, proposed one of two things—that Fleetwood should either muster what strength he could, and, having taken possession of the Tower, send to the lord mayor and common council, desiring them to join with him in declaring for a free parliament, when the city would advance him money, and thus enable him to collect a greater army; or, as the next best, instantly dispatch a person of trust to the king at Breda, to treat for his restoration. Whitelocke declared his readiness to go with Fleetwood to the field or to the tower, or, if he chose, set off instantly to Breda. Fleetwood readily accepted of his offer to go to Breda; and matters appeared to be concluded, when Whitelocke, as he was going away, met Vane, Desborough, and Berry, in the next room, coming to speak with the general, who desired him to stay a little, "and," says he, "I suspected what would be the issue of their consultation; and within a quarter of an hour, Fleetwood

came to me, and in much passion said to me, "*I cannot do it, I cannot do it.*" I desired his reason why he could not do it? He answered, "*These gentlemen have remembered me, and it is true, that I am engaged not to do any such thing without my Lord Lambert's consent.*" I replied, "that Lambert was at too great a distance to have his consent to this business, which must be instantly acted." Fleetwood again said, "*I cannot do it without him.*" Then said I, "*you will ruin yourself and your friends.*" He said, "*I cannot help it.*" So Whitelocke left him *. Thus, by a principle of honesty, to which Moncke was an utter stranger—no false oaths or protestations were scrupled at by him—was Fleetwood prevented from at least embarking in a measure which, while it would, if successful, have secured his party, and even the cause, would have procured for him all the glory which was so unworthily lavished on the instrument that brought about the Restoration, with the ruin of every principle which he had with such apparent zeal professed—of all the men whom he had so long acted in concert with, and pretended to admire. To a feeling of integrity, joined to a thorough conviction of the ruinous consequences to which it propelled him, must we ascribe the despair that now bore down Fleetwood to the earth, as cast off by heaven, and made him vent, in wretched lamentation, the anguish which his sense of the approaching ruin of his family, friends,

* Whitelocke, p. 690-1.

and principles, so deeply inspired. Let us not, then, pretend to despise his despair, and picture to ourselves a weak fanatic, who, elated with temporary prosperity, was yet overwhelmed by a change of fortune. It is not unlikely, however, that he was unqualified for a great part: For men who are the best calculated to act in a subordinate situation, are generally the worst qualified to take the lead. So long as the powerful hand that uses them directs the helm, they imagine that the course is not above their own powers, and that they, as the instruments, really perform the business; but when the head is removed, they feel their own imbecility, while men who have been long accustomed to behold them as satellites of greatness, are not inclined to transfer to them the respect which they paid to the deceased, and their own minds are impressed with want of confidence in their powers, now that they have lost the directing genius which never interposed but with effect. Ingoldsby and some others, at the same time, proposed to Whitelocke to restore the king as a change that would most probably happen: he, however, declined to act with them. But, says he, "no quiet was enjoyed by any party, all were at work, and the king's party were active, and every man was guided by his own fancy and interest; those in employment were most obnoxious to trouble *."

The parliament on its reassembling shewed a Parliament restored.

* Whitelocke, p. 691. See Carte's Let. vol. ii. Lambert was expected, on probable grounds, to declare for the king, as well as Fleetwood.

disposition to act with vigour. But it may be questioned whether it exhibited commensurate prudence. Vane*, who had ever been steady to his

* Hume's character of Hazlerig and Vane is worthy of him and of Clarendon, whom he *partly* follows. As to the idea ascribed to Vane of his imagining that he was inspired, and that he believed himself the person deputed by God to reign over the saints a thousand years—it rests only on his lordship's authority, which, on such a subject, is, as we have sufficiently proved, the worst imaginable; and is directly refuted by the conduct of Vane in his last moments. Hume says, "he deemed himself, *to speak the language of the times*,"—where did he learn that such was the language of the times?—"to be a man above ordinances, and by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and unrestrained by any rules which govern inferior mortals." Whence did Mr. Hume extract his information regarding this illustrious character?—Was it from his own logical deduction from his own principles?—as thus—the king's will is law, and, therefore, his ordinances ought to be implicitly obeyed; but Vane disputed and spurned at such ordinances; *ergo*, he was a man above ordinances. But, says the same author, in regard to Moncke, "upon the whole, it seems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a disparagement of his probity." Ought then, the most solemn protestations and oaths to God, made and repeated in every possible way, with, as Hume labours to prove, the purpose of imposing on those to whom they were addressed, to exalt our idea of the man's prudence, not disparage his probity? I, for my part,—and sorry am I to be obliged to speak it,—cannot divine what idea an author had of ordinances, who could make such a defence of conduct which set every moral obligation at defiance. Even the authors of the Parliamentary history, high Tories as they are, say, in regard to the attempt by Price to prove that Moncke had early intended the restoration—"Allow this assertion to be true, yet the method Moncke took to bring about this restoration was by no means justifiable, since 'tis certain it was effected by the breach of *some* oaths," (*many*), "and the deepest dissimulation." Vol. xxii. p. 8. Gumble says, that Moncke was known amongst the soldiers as *honest* George Moncke. The reader will judge how far he deserved the appellation; but I should like a better authority for the fact; and the feelings of the soldiery, as described by Hodgson, were very different indeed. Clarendon begins with telling us that Moncke had been noted for sincerity, and then proceeds to

principles, had latterly, as the only chance of settling affairs, acted in some things along with the

give as strong a picture of hypocrisy as the pen could draw. The first he probably conceived incumbent on him to please his party; the latter was consonant to his own knowledge of the man whom he cordially believed to have been actuated by a desire of raising himself to the place that had been held by Cromwell, till he found that it was impracticable.

Considering who his wife was, the following account of her conduct by Ludlow is not to be wondered at. "Moncke's wife took special care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her, running herself to fetch the sweatmeats, and filling out the wine for them; not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart, that the government might be settled in the way of a commonwealth." Vol. ii. p. 822. See *Clar. State Papers*, vol. iii. Price has shewn himself to be a true *trencher chaplain* in his praises of that Lady for her loyalty, and the use she made of it over her husband.

In a note upon the death of Moncke, Hume eulogizes him still farther, while he abuses Burnet for faction and malignity, as manifested in his character of him. He there declares that Moncke "may be said to be the subject who, since the beginning of time, rendered the most durable and essential services to his native country. The means also by which he achieved his great undertakings were almost entirely unexceptionable"—Then integrity is a bubble.—"His temporary dissimulation being absolutely necessary, could scarcely be blamable."—So the deepest protestations, the most solemn oaths, are scarcely blamable.—"He had received no trust from that mongrel, pretended, usurping parliament, whom he dethroned; therefore, could betray none."—What! did he not receive an appointment to the command over the forces from the parliament, though not exactly so much as he desired? Did he not accept of a place in the council, &c. &c.? and must he not have been crushed had he not imposed on the parliament by oaths and imprecations?—"He even refused to carry his dissimulation so far as to take the oath of abjuration against the king."—Now, the fact is, that he could never scruple at an oath against the king, since he volunteered oath above oath against the Stuarts; but there was something in the oath against a single person, which, as it might affect his officers, who, in Scotland, had declared their wish to see him protector, he probably stumbled at, and he assigned rea-

council of officers ; but Hazlerig, who trusted to the protestations of Moncke, carried a resolution for not only excluding Vane, Lambert, and Saloway, with some others, but even ordering them to be confined to their houses. This was exactly the course which Moncke, who continued his protestations for the parliament and the commonwealth, wished him to pursue. The parliament invited him to the city, and also to the house itself, to receive their thanks by the mouth of the speaker. In his answer, he declared that, among the many mercies of God to these poor nations, he accounted their restoration not the least ; that the glory of it was due to the Deity alone, whose goodness had been peculiarly manifested to himself in making him,

sons to the council, for not pressing the oath on any person, that satisfied them. See Gumble, p. 229. "I confess, however," proceeds Mr. Hume, "that the Rev. Dr. Douglas has shewn me, from the Clarendon Papers, an original letter of his to Sir Arthur Hazlerig, containing very earnest, and certainly false, protestations of his zeal for a commonwealth. It is to be lamented that so worthy a man, and of such plain manners, should ever have found it necessary to carry his dissimulation to such a height." The letter to Hazlerig has already been quoted by us. But what works had Mr. Hume consulted when he composed his history, that he should think a remark on that letter necessary, while the other documents to which we have alluded, and which, as they are in the Parliamentary History often referred to by him, it is utterly inconceivable he should have overlooked, are even stronger ? yet I do believe that he inspected very few authorities, Carte being his text book.

Even Moncke's chaplains not only admit his hypocrisy, but laud it in the highest terms as beyond the rules of Machiavel himself. Gumble, p. 246. Whatever men may think of an unconditional restoration, it is utterly astonishing that they should praise the instrument, who merely sought his own aggrandizement, *per fas et nefas*, and appears to have only restored the Stuarts when he could not usurp the government himself. See Hutcheson, vol. ii. p. 255, *et seq.* for a picture of Moncke's baseness.

though unworthy, a humble instrument for so glorious a purpose. That in his march south, the people had every where flocked to him, professing their desire of a free parliament, the restoration of the members excluded in 1648, the encouragement of the universities, and of learning, and likewise of a pious ministry: But that he had assured them that the parliament was now free, and resolved to fill up the vacancies of the house, while it had determined to put an end to its sitting: That the ministry and universities would doubtless be sufficiently encouraged, but that, as for the expulsion of the members in 1648, it ought to be acquiesced in; and that no one could in any estate be admitted into such an assembly before he had taken an engagement to the government. He said that he mentioned these things to shew the disposition of the people at large to assist them in their grand work, which should include as many interests, excepting those of the cavaliers and fanatics, as possible; and that, for his part, he conceived that, provided regard were had for the safety of the commonwealth, the fewer engagements exacted the better. He concluded with remarking, that he had no doubt of the affection both of Scotland and Ireland *.

The common council of London, in the mean-
time, having lost confidence in the parliament, and
become inflamed against the army for killing some
of the citizens in suppressing a tumult by the ap-

Common
council
of London.

* Old Parl. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 28, *et seq.* Whitelocke, p. 691, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 776, *et seq.*

prentices, declared their resolution not to pay taxes till they should be imposed by a free parliament duly elected ; and as if it had itself constituted the supreme power of the nation, it received petitions on that subject from the adjacent counties, while it proceeded to fortify the city. Every way surrounded with difficulties, the council of state, which could not regard this in any other light than as a defiance of the existing authority, sent for Moncke, who had just been admitted as one of their number, that they might employ him on seizing twelve of the refractory citizens, and in destroying the new works. Far from declining this service, Moncke instigated the council, as one of its number, to still harsher measures, declaring that the city would never be quiet till some of the citizens were hanged. Marching into the city, he literally performed the work enjoined him ; but scarcely had he accomplished it when some of the leading presbyterian party came to lament the measure, and to convince him of its impolicy. They succeeded in making him a convert to their sentiments, more probably from the light which they gave him regarding the force of public opinion, than from the potency of their argument in other respects. But other circumstances operated powerfully on his mind. The parliament, though it had trusted to the protestations of Moncke, had suffered too much already from aspiring generals, to devolve willingly on him the power of the state ; and it had lately become jealous of his designs. Endeavours were therefore used to conciliate the

soldiery; a new militia was determined on, and the parliament, therefore, received with sufficient marks of respect, a representation and address, presented by Mr. Praise God Barebone, from a great body who called themselves the well-affected inhabitants of the cities of London and Westminster, and places adjacent; in which they prayed, first, that no person or persons should be allowed to sit in this or any future parliament, or hold any official situation, who did not abjure the pretended title or titles of Charles Stuart and the whole line of the late king James, and of every other individual who pretended to the crown or government of the three nations, or any of its territories, co-ordinate with the people's representatives, as well as a house of peers; and, Secondly, that, whoever propounded such a thing in any meeting, even in the parliament itself, should be deemed and adjudged guilty of high treason *. This petition was presented at the very

* The petition presented by Barebone is called by Hume a long fanatical one, and stigmatized with every opprobrious epithet by Clarendon; the reader may, therefore, be gratified with the original, as it will shew Hume's idea of fanaticism.

"Whereas the good old cause was for civil and Christian liberty, against oppression and persecution. The oppressors and persecutors were chiefly, the king, his lords and clergy, and their adherents; who, to effect their designs, raised war against the parliament. Whereupon, the parliament, in defence of civil and Christian liberty, call the oppressed and persecuted to their aid; by whose assistance the oppressors and persecutors have been subdued, kingship and peerage abolished, and persecution checked, by which the number of conscientious friends to the parliament have been so exceedingly increased, that they are now, by God's assistance, in a far more able capacity of keeping down their enemies, than they were in those times when they subdued them. Nevertheless, so watchful hath the restless ene-

time Moncke was ordered into the city; and, as it was received with great approbation by the house, his chief officers open-mouthed inveighed to him against it as a "mark of ingratitude and indignity

my been to make advantage, that what, time after time, he hath lost in the field, he hath endeavoured to regain even in the parliament's council; where, because they had not the face openly to bring in the king, with the former oppressions and persecutions, they shrouded and veiled themselves, one while under a personal treaty, another while under a cloak or zeal against blasphemy and heresy; their endeavours being to bring in the king upon any terms; to cherish the persecuting party, and to browbeat their most conscientious opposers. Upon which pretences, they have, nevertheless, through tract of time, and the unsettledness of government, prevailed so far, under the notion of a moderate party, to get the subtlest of their friends into many places of trust and command, both civil and military; through whose countenance and encouragement, albeit the parliament, upon good grounds, voted the government by kings and lords useless, burdensome, and dangerous, and declare very largely for liberty of conscience; yet, of late, a general boldness hath been taken to plead a necessity of returning to the government of king and lords, a taking in of the king's son; or, which is all one, for a return of the justly secluded members, or a free parliament without due qualifications; whereby the good old cause of liberty and freedom, (so long contended for against regal interests with the expense of much blood and treasure,) and the assertors thereof, will be prostituted to satisfy the lusts of the enemies of the commonwealth; wherein they have prevailed so far, that, unless all conscientious persons in parliament, army, navy, and commonwealth, do speedily unite and watchfully look about them, the sword will certainly, though secretly and silently, be stolen out of their hands; so also will they find all civil authority fall suddenly into the hands of their enraged enemies, and a return of all those violences, oppressions, and persecutions, which have cost so much blood and treasure to extirpate. The serious apprehension whereof hath stirred up your cordial friends to desire you to use all possible endeavours to prevent the commonwealth's adversaries in this their most dangerous stratagem; and as the most effectual means thereunto, we pray," &c. *Old Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 94. The substance of the two points prayed for being embodied in the text, we shall not swell out this note farther. The reader will see in this the cause of Moncke's apprehensions; and, likewise, in the industry and influence of

offered to himself; declaring, that the parliament would never have admitted such an infamous address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon his ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and sagacity," "and thereupon told him of the under-hand endeavours which were made to work upon the affections of the soldiers *." He now changed his tone, and, in a letter which he addressed to parliament, though he still talked of the wonderful goodness of God in allowing the members to return to the house for the discharge of their duty, he pretended to lament the sad office which had been imposed upon him by the council, of marching into the city; reminded them that the ground of their undertaking had been the vindication of the liberties of the people, a ground from which,—as he had declared it before the Lord, angels, and men, in the day of their extremity,—he

Barebone to procure such a petition, the cause of the ridicule thrown on him by Clarendon and others. His unfortunate Christian name barbed the sting. But the language of the petition has none of the cant of Moncke's.

"Moncke," says a Mr. Dixon, whose letter is preserved amongst the Clarendon Papers, "is very impatient for the dissolution of this parliament, and begins to discover a dislike of some of their actions, peculiarly that of settling a militia of their own throughout the nation, which they are doing in very safe hands, but declares he will positively acquiesce in the determinations of a free parliament." Vol. iii. p. 690. N.B. The letter is dated 24th February, 1659-60. In order to shew the masterly dissimulation of Moncke, Price,—who, with his other biographers, praises every act of perfidy as deep policy, and a worthy mean to a pious end,—says, that Moncke told him the marching into the city was "a trick he knew not, but without which the business could not have been done."

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 714-15.

could not depart: That the army must trouble the house with their fears, arising from their not having actually disqualified Vane and the others from sitting in parliament, and allowing that statesman to reside about town: And that as he found the whole nation was bent upon a free parliament, he trusted the parliament would immediately determine on the qualifications of electors—qualifications which should exclude all those who had borne arms against, or had shewn dissatisfaction at, the parliament. He particularly reflected on the petition presented by Barebone; and—aware that some petitions from counties had been favourably received by some members, though the majority declared against them, for the payment of the clergy by some other mode than by tithes, which had inflamed that body—he affected great zeal for the preservation of the ministry against the pretended designs of the petitioners, who concurred with Barebone*.

Soon after his letter to the house, Moncke went into the city, where he lamented to them the duty which had been imposed on him by the council, of adopting the late offensive measures, and declared his desire for a free parliament; while, having got his letter to the parliament printed, he had it liberally dispersed. The late act had completed the alienation of the city, where the presbyterian interest preponderated; and now that the inhabitants found themselves supported by the

Moncke goes a second time into the city, &c.

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 98. Price, Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 751, 823, et seq.

chief military force, cavalier and presbyterian concurred in manifesting every species of contempt for the parliament. In ridicule of that assembly, as if wasted away to that part which usually terminates the animal economy, they sent for rumps from all quarters, and when these failed, they cut pieces of flesh into the resemblance, and roasted them publicly at bonfires *.”

In the meantime, Lord Broghill, and Sir Charles Coote in Ireland, who had maintained a correspondence with Moncke, entered into one with the exiled monarch, promising, that if he landed on that island, they would endeavour to join him. Assisted too, by Sir Theophilus Jones and other officers, Coote surprised Dublin, and having seized Colonel John Jones, and the commissioners, immediately collected a large body of horse, and assumed the reins of government. Ludlow, who had flattered himself that, when he left Ireland on the second expulsion of the parliament, he had reduced it to a state of tranquillity, was again at Chester, on the eve of embarking for that island, when news of this event reached him; but, having written to Hazlerig to take care of matters at home, he prosecuted his voyage. On his arrival in Ireland, he was invited by Coote and his party to negotiate with them; but, as he perceived that their object was to get him within their power, he kept beyond

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 715-16. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 691, *et seq.* Price. Gumble. Whitelocke, p. 695, says, Moncke hardly gave the same account to two men.

their reach. In these proceedings, though not in the correspondence with Charles, Broghill and Coote acted in perfect accordance with the views of Moncke, who was early anxious to get power in Ireland, and perceived that all his declarations in regard to his intentions of establishing a republic had never been able to impose upon Ludlow. Broghill, Coote, and his party, finding that they could not secure Ludlow's person, adopted a different course against him. Having displaced all the commonwealth's officers, and substituted their own creatures, they transmitted to England a charge against him, of having too much favoured the Wallingford-house party, while they, at the same time, sent an impeachment of high treason against the commissioners. They also declared for a new parliament, and called a convention in Dublin to advance them money*.

Parliament
jealous of
Moncke,
&c.

The parliament, jealous of Moncke's residence in the city, sent two of their members to request that he would leave it, and return to his old quarters. But he was otherwise employed. Having succeeded in convincing the city that he had, on the former occasion, acted reluctantly against it, he averted from himself the odium of the transaction, turning it all against the parliament; and obtained the authority of the city for raising a new militia there. At this time, the parliament was busily engaged in devising rules for the new elec-

* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 781, *et seq.* Price. Parl. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 55, *et seq.*

tion. By these, all who had been engaged in plots for bringing in the Stuart family were to be excluded, while an engagement was to be exacted of every voter, against the exiled monarch and the dominion of an individual. The presbyterian party however, were now, generally speaking, more than ever disposed to restore monarchy on conditions, and the city had formed that resolution. The excluded members therefore conceived, that now was the time to demand their admission to the house; and, whatever had been Moncke's intention, he now found it necessary to yield to the current. All his protestations for a commonwealth did not prevail with the parliament to form the resolution of intrusting him with unlimited power over the army; and instead of being invested with full authority to dispose of commissions, he was only nominated one of five for that purpose; —other intentions, which would have annihilated his power were entertained: His troops began to be dissaffected, from a suspicion of his intentions in regard to a republic; and his influence over them would have been altogether inadequate to raise him to the chief magistracy, while he had reason to think, that part of them might revolt to their old commanders: The new militia of London, though it might form some counterpoise to the old military, was too much affected with the principles of the city to be made an instrument in the hands of the general *.

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 103. Price. Gumble. Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. Whitelocke, p. 695.

Secluded
members
restored,
21st Feb.
1660.

The secluded members having insisted on being restored to their seats, Moncke pretended that, for their satisfaction, he would, at his own house, hear what they had to say on the subject; and he invited some of the parliamentary leaders to attend a conference. The discussion, according to the natural course of events, widened the breach, and the deputies from the parliament abruptly left the meeting in disgust. After this, the parliament having received notice that the secluded members meant to intrude themselves, sent intelligence of it to the general, who answered that it was impossible they could entertain such a purpose, but that he would send a guard to prevent the possibility of such a proceeding. To the disappointment of that assembly, however, the secluded members, accompanied with a part of his officers, took their places; yet, on the very same day, Moncke sent a declaration to the parliament, in which he calls on the divine attestation that his only object was the establishment of a free republic*.

* *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 132, *et seq.* *Ludlow*, vol. ii. p. 828, *et seq.* *Whitelocke*, p. 696. *Price*. *Gumble*. *Clar.* vol. vi. p. 716, *et seq.* Moncke, in a paper which he presented at the meeting, between the excluded members and the others, says, "I thought good to assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory, and the settlement of these nations upon commonwealth foundations. In pursuit whereof, I shall think nothing too dear; and for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at your feet to be any thing or nothing to these great ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing; I desire you may be in perfect freedom; only give me leave to remind you, that the old foundations are, by God's providence, so broken, that,

When the secluded members returned to the house, many of the others left it, conceiving that they should degrade themselves by continuing to sit in the same assembly with those whom they had previously expelled. This completed the triumph of the presbyterian party, as the secluded members might, it is said, have been outvoted; and they lost no time in ordering all the resolutions by which they had been expelled, to be expunged from the journals; in appointing a new council of state, and nominating Moncke captain-general of all the forces in the British dominions, and Montague and Lawson, (the first of whom was justly suspected of having been secretly engaged with Sir George Booth,) commanders of the fleet. Yet they were not forgetful of their old principles. They revived the solemn league and covenant, and ordered it not only to be printed and put up in the house, but read in every parish church. Some of them, too, were for retaining their authority till they had fully set-

in the eye of reason, they cannot be restored but upon the ruins of the people of these nations, that have engaged for their rights in defence of the parliament, and the great and main ends of the covenant; for uniting the Lord's name one in three nations; and also the liberty of the people's representatives in parliament, will certainly be lost; for if the people find that, after so long and bloody a war against the king for breaking in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his will, dispose of parliaments and parliament men as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never more rise for assistance." This is taken from the copy in Clarendon's history, vol. vi. p. 318, of which Mr. Hume had no apology for not being acquainted with. I will therefore say, that if this could, as excusable hypocrisy, be justified, there is no such thing as a right or wrong in human actions.

tled the nation; but Moncke, whose hints were commands, reminded them that they had been only restored on condition of their calling a new parliament; and they, finding it vain to resist, entered into some resolutions regarding the qualifications of electors, in particular, that they should take the covenant, and having voted that the general should give no commissions to any who did not previously declare that the war undertaken against the late king was just and lawful, appointed another parliament at a short date, and then passed the act of dissolution, which put a final period to this famous assembly*.

Long Par-
liament dis-
solved, 6th
Mar. 1660.

Moncke's
motives.

What were Moncke's views, even at this time, it is impossible to ascertain. He still declined correspondence, not only with the cavaliers, but with emissaries from the exiled family, and would not, to his most confidential friends, make any declaration in favour of the Stuarts†: but men throughout the empire were tired of revolutions, and the majority despaired of repose under the nominal form of a republic. The grand struggle in former times had been between the prince and the parliament, which, supported by the popular voice, maintained the privileges of the people. But when the contest terminated in favour of that legislative assembly, people beheld that it, invested

* Whitelocke, p. 696. Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 831, *et seq.* See Ludlow's *Liberal Notions about Religion*; and Moncke's *Hypocrisy*. Carte's *Let.* vol. ii. p. 308, *et seq.* Clar. Papers, vol. iii. Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 244, *et seq.* The treachery of Ashly Cooper was like himself.

† Clar. State Papers, vol. iii.

with the whole legislative power and the disposal of offices, might convert the public trust into a fee for the members: That however judiciously selected, when deputed by the people, they could not be depended on when they were no longer under any control from those who had the nomination; and that it was to be anticipated that a new representation would be again split into factions for superiority, and the nation again convulsed with their growing contentions. The licentiousness of the army had every where disgusted the people; and one revolution seemed only to be the precursor of another usurpation. A change which threw down those who had long stood at the helm was grateful to the ambitious: The Stuarts were loud in their professions of regard for the liberty of the people and the authority of parliament; and too many were deluded by such language into the belief that the fate of the father would have such a salutary effect upon the son, as to deter him from those unconstitutional courses which had brought a weight of affliction upon the family, as well as so much misery upon the people. So infatuated were the presbyterians, that they fondly flattered themselves that now the victory was theirs; that the cavaliers could easily be restrained by the united voice of the people, of whose support they did not doubt; and that the exiled family never could be restored on terms short of those tendered to the late king at the Isle of Wight.

State of
parties, &c.

The republican party was still strong, but it could not resist the united efforts of the cavaliers and presbyterians, and it was depressed by the present posture of affairs. The cavaliers were ineligible by the late act, but there was no provision to enforce it; and as the presbyterians, in their jealousy of the republicans, favoured them, many were elected: but many of those who had resolved to espouse the presbyterian interest sought the advancement of their individual views, by affecting zeal for an unconditional restoration, when they perceived it could not be avoided. Large sums were expended for seats,—some giving one thousand pounds, and others two*.

There is reason to suppose that Moncke connived at the election of cavaliers, that, on the one hand, if the restoration should be the most advisable course, he might use them as instruments for promoting it; and, on the other, if he found himself in a situation to usurp the government, he might have a plausible pretext for dissolving an assembly elected on principles prohibited by the very act which authorized it. He had now begun to entertain some emissaries from the king, and gave obscure hints of an intention to restore the family: But even these were contradicted by violent declarations to the same individuals. One day he declared that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament, both in relation to the king and the house of lords; another day he told

* Carte's Let. vol. iii. p. 326.

the same person, "in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England"—though "he was in good temper again the same night." Yet "he still persisted to protest, and wish his right hand might rot off if he had the least design for the king, or if he did not oppose it to the last drop of his blood if attempted by any." It is even alleged that he had entered into a correspondence with Mazarine, to help him to the place which had been occupied by Cromwell: But every day developed to him the impracticability of the attempt. His late measures had forfeited for ever the confidence of the popular party; and in spite of all his arrangements in the commands, it was only by keeping the army in various stations, to cut off mutual communication between the different detachments, that he could expect to preserve it in obedience. If the popular party regained the ascendancy, he was at once thrown down from his preeminence, and the command of the military consigned to others: If the presbyterian interest prevailed, then it restored the Stuarts without him, and exposed him to all the consequences of resisting the measure. He had thus no party to act with to raise him to individual power, without recalling the exiled family; and the military which gave him such influence could not be relied on. The city militia, too, which he had organized as a counterpoise to the old army, felt with their fellow-citizens: the fleet under Montague was ready to declare for the king, and the party at

the head of affairs in Ireland had been negotiating with Charles II. Moncke must have been conscious, besides, that he was destitute of those great qualities which in Oliver Cromwell had so dazzled mankind, shedding a lustre even on usurpation, but which would not have preserved even that individual much longer in his guilty greatness. When these circumstances are considered, there will no longer be room for wonder, that he should have at last intimated to Sir John Grenville, who had been sent over by the exiled king, that he was anxious to promote his majesty's service, and advised that Charles should leave the Spanish territories, lest he should be detained as a hostage for Dunkirk and Jamaica. On this return of good fortune, Charles instantly removed to Breda; and now it may be necessary to give some account of his situation*.

* Mr. Hume had not the benefit of the third volume of the Clarendon Papers, which is an invaluable record; and that affords a considerable apology for his misconception of the state of things, and the views of the leading men. The rising of Fairfax, on Moncke's march south, for instance, was viewed by the royalists with alarm, p. 654. 656. 669: See p. 660, *et seq.* See also about Manchester, Hollis, and the rest, who began instantly to cabal, not only against the republican party, but against the power of the crown, &c. But our chief business is now with Moncke. Hume lays hold of a statement by Gumble, that Moncke had asserted Cromwell could not long have maintained his usurpation: But from all circumstances, we never can believe that the assertion had been made relative to an individual he was so deeply engaged with, till after the Restoration. Hume dwells on "the natural tranquillity and moderation of Moncke's temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius, *not to mention his age now upon the decline.*" Let us begin with his age: I would ask at what age a man is beyond ambition. But what was Moncke's age?—Fifty-two!

The war between France and Spain, which, to gratify the ambition of two or three individuals, Peace between France and Spain.

or two years younger than Cromwell was when he usurped the government! As to the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, I know not what is meant, since he never could safely shew more ambition than he did. See what Hyde (Clarendon) says, in a letter to Sir Henry Bennet, (14th February, 1659-60,) "*of his ambitious and acuricious nature,*" p. 679. "If I hear his character right," (says Lord Mordaunt to the king in a letter, dated 17th February, 1659, 1660,) "*he is covetous, surly, and proud,*" p. 683. See page 661, regarding his fear of Lambert. See how he was watched by Scott and Robinson, p. 662. See p. 666, about St. John and others, whose conduct influenced Moncke, as to the abjuring the king, p. 667-68. "Moncke," says Lord Mordaunt, 5th February, 1659-60, "*hath already pulled off the mask, and is clearly republical, and certainly hath acted the weakest part that ever man did; he hath lost all parties, and now runs with the giddy members into illegal and irregular actions,*" p. 70. See p. 672, 674, 675, *et seq.* "There is so insolent a spirit amongst some of the nobility," writes Mr. Baron, (February) "*that I really fear 'twill turn to an aristocracy, Moncke inclining that way too. My opinion is clear that the king ought not to part with the church, crown, or friends' lands, lest he make my lord of Northumberland his equal, nay, perhaps his superior,*" p. 680, 681. Regarding Moncke's conduct to the city, p. 682. Lord Mordaunt, founding his reasoning upon the covetous, surly, proud temper of Moncke, says, "*If this be his nature he will prove malleable, there being none of those humours, how peccant soever, but may be rectified. The visible inclination of the people; the danger he foresees from so many enemies; his particular pique to Lambert; the provocation of the anabaptists and sectaries, with whom I may now join the catholics; the want of money to continue standing armies; the divisions of the chief officers in those respective armies; the advices of those near him, I mean Cloberry and Knight, whom I hear as well of as of the former; the admonitions daily given him by Mr. Annesley and Alderman Robinson, unless God has fed him for the slaughter, cannot but move him to return to assist the government he was born under, and which he allowed to be the best under the greatest tyrant,*" p. 683. See about Moncke's "*bitter speech against monarchy,*" to the secluded members, p. 688. See Lady Willoughby's Letter to Hyde, about the approaching elections, p. 689, dated

had, for about thirty years, cost a prodigal waste of lives and treasure, was, soon after the late protector's death, terminated by the peace of the

24th February. "The discontented persons here," writes Mr. Dixon on the same day, after the return of the secluded members, "(such as Hazlerig, Scott, Robinson, and others,) are not without their designs to interrupt the proceedings of our new governors, and to that end have already joined with the officers of the old army, and intend this very night to make proposals to Moncke for re-establishing of the protector again, as being the only expedient they can find to save themselves from ruin, &c. p. 689, 690. See also Moncke's desire to dissolve the parliament, because it was for establishing a new militia. See about Moncke's supposed designs, p. 691. See also the temper of his officers, p. 692. See also about his designs, p. 693. Lambert petitioned for leave to transport himself beyond seas: "yet, after all this, many believe that he will be able to make a bustle, and that the rump love him much better, and will trust him more than they will do Moncke. Every day produces some manifesto sent up to Moncke for a full and free parliament," &c. p. 695. "All I can say of Moncke," writes Mr. Barwick to the king, March 10, is, "that no means are left unattempted which come within the power of my friend; for, notwithstanding his former resolution only to move along with Moncke, about the beginning of this week he pressed him with all the arguments he could, both from necessity, honour, and interest; and he put him to such a stand with them, as he only replied he would consider of it, and tell more of his mind hereafter. And again, on Wednesday, upon occasion of the remonstrance, he declared himself to my friend, that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament, both in relation to your majesty and the house of lords; and yet yesterday *he told him in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England.* Though I hear from other hands he was in a good temper again the same night," p. 695. See p. 698, about the army, &c. and Moncke. See what Moncke intended by a free parliament, and how Hyde only relied on his declaring for the king even on March 17th, in consequence of Fairfax and Rossiter having risen, p. 701. See following page, about parties, &c. One of the king's friends, under the feigned name of Mr. Harrison, writes to the king, on the 19th March, that Montague had declared for him, as the only way to settle the nation; and then says, "Moncke still persists to pro-

Pyrenees. Spain, by the united efforts of France and England, was at last reduced so low that the French minister did not escape censure for sacrificing his master's interest to the importunity of the queen mother: But the death of Cromwell had materially altered the aspect of affairs: As it was he who had entered into the war, so the parliament might conclude a peace and adopt measures for compelling France to concur. By the possession of Dunkirk, the road was open into the French territory, and a co-operation with the Huguenots, or protestants of that country, might soon paralyze the French government. Charles went to the treaty, to ask the assistance of the potentates in recovering his throne, as the cause of kings: But, as his prospect of regaining it, was, by the defeat of Booth's insurrection, deemed hopeless, his reception was cold, while that of Lockhart, the English ambassador, was attended

test, and wish his right hand may rot off if he has the least design for the king, or if he do not oppose it to the last drop of his blood, if attempted by any," p. 703. See p. 704, *et seq.* particularly p. 738, 739. See also Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. Upon the whole, I conceive that there can be no great doubt that Moncke was carried by the stream, and only determined on the Restoration when he could not raise himself to the chief power. Manchester, and others of the presbyterian party, who professed much for the king, intended to bind him down so fast, that he should not be permitted to write a letter, or appoint a kitchen boy, without their consent, p. 705. See also p. 729, and elsewhere, for Fairfax. The truth is, that in the temper of the nation, the restoration could not be avoided; but it might have been effected on certain conditions. See Price, as to Moncke's continued protestations for a commonwealth, and the views of the presbyterian party; and as to Moncke, Clar. Hist. vol. vi. p. 723, *et seq.* See Note xxi. to vol. i. Laing's History relative to the story told by Locke of Moncke's intrigue with Mazarine.

with a respect which had never been shewn to the representative of any monarch. Though the Pope had talked of the deep concern which it gave him to see the death of the late king unrevenged, and declared that he would use his fatherly interest in uniting the different monarchs to re-assert the right of the exiled family, as in a cause which, being directed against a successful example of revolt in subjects, it became all sovereigns to maintain*,—so little sympathy did the fate of that family excite, that the queen-mother of England, so nearly allied in blood to the French king, was scarcely supplied with the necessaries of life, and is reported to have been on one occasion obliged to keep her bed from want of fuel to warm her apartment: Even the catholic king himself, it is believed, would, to accomplish his own ends in regard to Dunkirk and Jamaica, have detained as a prisoner a brother prince who had sought an asylum in his territories. When, however, there was a prospect of his restoration, and nothing could be gained by any attempt to detain him, they were all sufficiently loud in expressing their joy and in proffering him their services†.

Presbyterians alarmed.

Some of the presbyterians took the alarm at the idea of a restoration, and the great body were still zealous for rigorous terms; but, as in one thing they all concurred, hatred of the sectaries, on this was founded the hope of the cavaliers.

* Clar. vol. vi. p. 548.

† Clar. vol. vi. p. 675, *et seq.* State Papers, vol. iii. Le Siècle de Louis XIV.

The republicans, or sectaries, perceiving that all would be lost if they did not immediately act, were in the highest state of commotion; and the troops began to be everywhere affected with the spirit of mutiny, when Lambert, having escaped from the Tower, to which he had been committed in consequence of having surrendered himself, instantly endeavoured to set himself at their head. Prompt measures alone saved Moncke. Ingoldsby, who seems to have been latterly treated coldly by Cromwell*, and was ever ready to affect the utmost zeal for the party that was uppermost, was sent against him, and overtook him before he could raise more than four troops. Perceiving themselves to be overpowered with great superiority in numbers, one of the troops deserted, and Lambert, along with Okey, Axtle, and Creed, was taken prisoner. Overton, partly from the activity of Fairfax, found it necessary, owing to the dissaffection among his troops, to surrender the command of Hull †.

Lambert
tries to col-
lect troops,
defeated.

When the parliament met, the lords were, in spite of a promise made by Moncke to exclude them, allowed to take their seats in the upper house, when they chose the Earl of Manchester as their speaker: The commons chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone. Both houses confirmed Moncke's commission of captain-general, and the members

New Par-
liament
meets, 25th
April,
1660.

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 365.

† Clar. vol. vi. p. 726, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 858-59, 875, 877.
Price, Gumble, Skinner.

emulated each other in expressing abhorrence at the execution of the late king, and in reflecting on the memory of Cromwell. This was a prelude to the Restoration, though nothing was said about it; and there is reason to believe that there was a strong party who were inclined to restore monarchy on rigorous terms only; but Moncke, who was determined to make his own fortune, without regard to any party, and who well knew that conditions for himself would expose him to jealousy from the king and his immediate advisers, while leaving all to the gratitude of the prince would bind him to his interest, had already concluded matters with Charles, without specifying conditions either for his country or himself. He therefore intimated to the house of commons that Sir John Grenville was at the door, desirous to deliver a letter from the king, when orders were given for his immediate admission. Grenville delivered, along with the letter, a declaration from Charles, in which he professed great regard for the privileges of parliament and the rights of the people; professed a general amnesty to all persons but such as should be excepted by parliament itself; promised liberty of conscience, and his consent to any act that parliament might deem necessary to secure it; and assured them that he would leave it to parliament to determine about the sale and the alienation of the church lands; while he promised to the soldiers not only all their arrears, but a continuance of their pay. To quicken their motions, he also intimated what was unfound-

Letter and
declaration
by Charles
II.

ed, that he had assurances of aid from foreign princes; but that he was disposed to decline it in confidence of their affections. This assembly, however, was not so carried away by the occasion as not to think of conditions; and the great Sir Matthew Hale himself moved the commons to take them into consideration: But Moncke interposed, telling them the troops could not be depended on during the delay of a treaty; and as they dreaded the second ascendancy of the republicans on the one hand, and perceived, on the other, that Moncke would, in all probability, succeed in restoring the king without them, while they were also apprised that he was intimating to the king what fell from individual members, and each apprehended not only the loss of favour, but possibly the royal vengeance—they dropped the opposition. Charles was therefore proclaimed, and arrangements were instantly made for his unconditional restoration*.

Montague was despatched to bring him over, and returned to England amid a general demonstration of joy: but the presbyterians were long taught, by oppression, not to rejoice over the humiliation of the republicans. No idea was ever more erroneous than that Charles and his friends acted mercifully towards their adversaries, as they proceeded as far as they durst,

Charles' restoration.
Proclaimed king, May 8th.

* Parl. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 210, *et seq.* Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. Hist. vol. vi. p. 732, *et seq.* Ludlow, vol. ii. p. 875. Price. Gumble. Skinner. Carte's Let. vol. ii. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times.

and even pursued by assassins some of those who had sought refuge in foreign climes *. His own open encouragement of every species of profligacy reflects disgrace on the age that could tolerate it. His violation of the law, and designs against religion, evince that he had not profited by experience.

* Ludlow, vol. iii. See in Price a proof of hypocritical cant by Moncke after the restoration, p. 161. "When I came to him," says Price, "I kneeled to him, and kissed his hands. (Had he been 'a man of such plain manners' as Hume represents him, would his chaplain have used this ceremony?) "He took me up, and was pleased to speak some kind words to me; but, in speaking, broke into tears, saying these words: 'No, Mr. Price, it was not I that did this; you know the jealousies that were had of me,' (how could it be otherwise, considering his false protestations?) 'and the oppositions against me. It was God alone who did it; to him be the glory, whose is the kingdom and the power, over this and all governments.'" Compare this with his blasphemous addresses to the Long Parliament.

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